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WHY DOES CHRETIEN'S EREC TREAT ENIDE SO HARSHLY?

THE question which I try to answer in the following pages is of fundamental importance for the understanding of Chrétien's poem, and it has been answered very differently by different scholars. Instead of asking the question in this form one might put it differently and ask of what fault Enide has, in Chrétien's mind, been guilty which can justify or at least excuse Erec's conduct. This second way of stating the question merely looks at the difficulty from another point of view, the essential thing remaining the same. For if Enide has been guilty of no fault which can excuse her husband's behavior, then Chrétien's account makes Erec guilty of a really unprovoked and unreasonably harsh, not to say cruel, treatment of Enide, and such cannot have been the poet's intention.

Since Chrétien does not plainly tell us why he makes Erec act as he does after Enide has told him what people are saying of him, any attempt to find out what was in the poet's mind must be more or less conjectural, and only a certain degree of probability can be attained. But it would seem that we may safely assume that the right solution of the problem must be in harmony with what he tells us in his narrative and with the words having a bearing on our question which he puts in the mouth of any person in the poem.

In order that the reader may follow the discussion intelligently it seems best to quote in full the most important passage concerned. I take it from Foerster's small edition of 1909:

Et [Enide] ploie de si grant ravine,
Que plorant dessor la peitrine

- 2495 An chieent les lermes sor lui,
Et dist: "Lasse, con mar m'esmui
De mon païs! Que ving ça querre?
Bien me devroit sorbir la terre,
Quant toz li miaudre chevaliers,
2500 Li plus hardiz et li plus fiers,
Li plus biaux et li plus cortois,
Qui onques fust ne cuens ne rois,
A del tot an tot relanquie
Por moi tote chevalerie.
2505 Donques l'ai je honi por voir;
Nel vossisse por nul avoir."
Lors li a dit: "Con mar i fus!"
A tant se test, si ne dist plus.
Erec ne dormi pas formant,
2510 Si l'a tresoï an dormant.
De la parole s'esvella
Et de ce mout se mervella,
Que si formant plorer la vit,
Si li a demandé et dit:
2515 Dites moi, bele amie chiere,
Por quoi plorez an tel maniere?
De quoi avez ire ne duel?
Certes, je le savrai mon vuel.
Dites le moi, ma douce amie,
2520 Et gardez, nel me celez mie:
Por quoi avez dit que mar fui?
Por moi fu dit, non por autrui.
Bien ai la parole antandue."
Lors fu mout Enide esperdue,
2525 Grant peor ot et grant esmai.
"Sire", fet ele, "je ne sai
Neant de quanque vos me dites."
"Dame, por quoi vos escondites?
Li celers ne vos i vaut rien.
2530 Ploré avez, ce voi je bien.
Por neant ne plorez vos mie;
Et an dormant ai je oïe
La parole que vos deïstes."
"Ha! biaux sire! onques ne l'oïstes,

- 2535 Mes je cuit bien que ce fu songes."
 "Or me servez vos de mançonges;
 Apertemant vos oi mantir;
 Mes tart vandroiz au repantir,
 Se voir ne me reconoissiez."
 2540 "Sire, quant vos si m'angoissiez,
 La verité vos an dirai,
 Ja plus ne le vos celerai;
 Mes je criem biem, ne vos enuit." . . .

And then she tells him all with complete frankness, and says she is the more distressed because people put the blame on her. The last part of this speech of hers is:

- "Autre consoil vos covient prandre,
 Que vos puissiez cest blasme estaindre
 Et vostre premier los ataindre;
 Car trop vos ai oi blasmer:
 2570 Onques nel vos osai mostrer.
 Sovantes foiz, quant m'an sovient,
 D'angoisse plorer me covient.
 Tel pesance or androit an oi,
 Que garde prandre ne m'an soi,
 Tant que je dis que mar-i fustes."

He answers in the immediately following lines:

- "Dame!", fet il, "droit an eüstes,
 Et cil qui m'an blasment ont droit." . . .

Then he abruptly gives her the order to prepare at once to ride, and she does so in great distress, blaming herself for "la folie qu'ele dist", and for her own pride.¹ In v. 2790 we see that she thinks that Erec has come to hate her.

Since Chrétien tells us of Enide's fear of telling Erec what people were thinking of him,² it appears that the poet represents her

¹ Mes tant m'a orguiauz sozleeve:
 An mon orguel avrai damage,
 Quant je ai dit si grant outrage,
 Et bien est droiz que je l'i aie. (vv. 2606 ff.)

² Mes sanblant feire n'an osa;
 Car ses sire an mal le preïst
 Assez tost, s'ele li deïst. (vv. 2470-72)

Cf. also v. 2570, quoted above.

as standing in awe of him even at the time when he was most absorbed in love for her, and that he is in her eyes the master and a very masterful master.³ True, we hear blame of her pride, but this blame the poet puts in her mouth, and he may have merely meant to express an exaggeration in her self-reproach, very natural under the circumstances; moreover she might really have felt some pride without having shown it; in which case she did not deserve blame for it.⁴ If, however, Chrétien really thought of her as having previously displayed some haughtiness (which is not my opinion), then this self-accusation can be taken as an indication of some degree of real guilt on her part, which may palliate though it cannot justify Erec's treatment of her.

The first question I wish to raise is this. How much of Enide's speech while she thought Erec asleep (vv. 2479-2507) did he, according to Chrétien, actually hear and understand? The words "une parole" (v. 2487)⁵ and "la parole" (v. 2511) seem to refer to what he distinctly heard, which caused his questioning and all the following trouble; and "la parole" in vv. 2523 and 2533 it is natural to take as meaning the same thing. Foerster understands Chrétien as meaning that he heard all she said; see his *Einleitung* to the edition of 1909, p. xviii. It is well to quote a few lines from his language here: Erec hatte aber alles gehört und ist auf das Tiefste verletzt, dass der Gegenstand seiner Liebe, dem er sich ganz hingegen, ihm in solcher Weise seinen Minnedienst lohnt. Zwar der Dichter verliert über das innere Seelenleben des Helden kein Wort, etc.⁶

³ Whether Enide was in the original form of the story a fairy or not is a question which I do not discuss. For Chrétien she certainly is not.

⁴ Compare *Romania*, XX, 164, n. 1, at end: parce qu'elle ne peut deviner qu'il y en a un autre [i. e., motif]. Here Enide may be thinking that she has sometimes shown pride and that Erec has noticed it and taken offence at it. She does not understand his real motive for his conduct, and she is perhaps trying to find a reason.

⁵
 Tel duel an ot et tel pesance,
 Qu'il li avint par mescheance
 Que ele dist *une parole*,
 Dont ele se tint puis por fole, etc. (vv. 2485 ff.)

⁶ In this connection it may be noted that in the edition of 1896, v. 2510 reads *Si l'antroï tot an dormant*; that of 1909 reads as in the first edition, that of 1890. (In consequence, doubtless, of the 1896 reading *antroïr* 'halb hören' is still in the glossary of the 1909 edition, while *tresoir* is lacking.) I am not objecting to

Now not every one has so understood the passage. Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XX, 159), I think, understood Chrétien to mean that what Erec heard was the last words ("Con mar i fus"), and not also all that Enide had said in the preceding verses. F. Lot (*Romania*, XXVIII, 333-4) says: Il [Erec] avait entendu une partie du monologue de sa femme. The matter is of some consequence for our subject, since vv. 2503-4, if heard (according to Chrétien) by Erec, might be understood by him as a reproach, especially if he had heard only enough of the preceding words to gather that she was speaking of him. Neither Foerster nor Lot, for example, seems to have thought there could be any doubt as to how much Erec heard. Zenker has even gone so far as to regard Foerster's explanation of the treatment Enide receives from Erec as altogether baseless (*Zur Mabinogionfrage*, p. 75). Voretzsch, on the other hand, writes (*Einführung in d. Stud. d. altfranz. Lit.*, 2d ed., p. 301): Enide lässt sich durch das gerede der leute verleiten, ihrem gatten vorwürfe zu machen; a statement for which I find no sufficient justification, but this passage, with vv. 2548 ff., may have occasioned his remark.

A probable, if not a certain answer to the question can, I believe, be made if we examine Chrétien's words closely. There is no doubt that he says that Erec is at first sleeping;⁷ that is, before Enide begins speaking. Enide is awake; she remembers the common talk about Erec and cannot help weeping (vv. 2484 ff.) while she looks at him, and her tears fall upon him (vv. 2494-5). Her monologue begins in v. 2496, but the poet has already told us (vv. 2485 ff.; see above, p. 118, n. 5) that she said a thing which she afterwards regretted, though she meant no ill when she said it. Chrétien gives us her words of regret for the unhappy situation of which she is the innocent cause (vv. 2496-2506). Then he breaks off for an instant to add, as a separate utterance, introduced by words of his own (*Lors li a dit*), her final words, "Con mar i fus!" (v. 2507). With that she stops speaking, he tells us (v. 2508). He has thus carefully divided her speech into two parts. Erec, so Chrétien says at this point, "ne dormi pas formant" (v. 2509). The poet's probable either reading, but only pointing out that Foerster's opinion as to the better reading has not always been the same.

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Cil [Erec] dormi, et ele [Enide] vella. (v. 2479)

meaning seems to me decidedly to be that Erec had been sleeping at first, and that he gradually became awake, but he was not fully awake even at the moment when these last four words were uttered. In v. 2510, the very next verse, we have "Si l'a tresoi an dormant", and in v. 2511 "De la parole s'esvella". Is it not most likely that the meaning is that he heard only these four words clearly, while, if he heard anything of Enide's previous words, it was only as an indistinct murmur? The following lines are also helpful, and they make this meaning appear as much the most probable one. Erec, now wide awake, asks Enide to explain—what? Surely what he has heard,⁸ and he specifies in v. 2521 just what words he wants explained, namely, the four words in v. 2507, and in v. 2523 he says that he has "bien entendue" those words (*la parole*).

If this is the right understanding of the passage thus far, then Chrétien did not mean his readers to think that Erec heard Enide's words in vv. 2503-4, and he (Erec) has no reason to see or to suspect any reproach in what she says. "Con mar i fus" is certainly not a reproach, but rather an expression of pity or regret, or a lament, especially when one reflects that she has been weeping. The words do not even imply any doubt of Erec's worth or powers. That she has no doubt of his ability to regain his lost reputation appears from vv. 2566 ff. They might, to be sure, suggest to him the mistaken idea that she thinks he has deteriorated or that she has some such doubt. Yet her speech in vv. 2540 ff. should prevent any such misunderstanding, as indeed it seems to do (vv. 2576-7). He might still feel some resentment, but this would not be enough to excuse his action. Verses 4929-31⁹ in the reconciliation speech may have been considered by Foerster as supporting the opinion that Erec heard all that Enide had said, though I think they refer to her four words in v. 2507 and perhaps also to the further verses (up to 2535 or even to 2575) which tell what resulted from her utterance of those words.

⁸ He also asks why she has been weeping, but that is of less consequence; it only makes her sadness more evident.

⁹ Et se vos rien m'avez mesdite,
Jel vos pardoing tot et claim quite
Del forfet et de la parole.

Notice the perhaps accidental occurrence of the phrase "la parole," which reminds one of "la parole," "une parole," noted above, see p. 118. Cf. also below, note 14.

Foerster's remarks about the predominance of the man as compared with the woman (see *Zs. f. franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XXXVIII, 177) suggest that he may have had a reason for his opinion similar to that expressed by Professor Nitze (see *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 447-8). The motive, according to this view, is Erec's need of asserting his sovereignty in the marriage relation. The theory in this form also seems to me to have no sufficient authorization in the words of the poem. No theory which seeks to find excuse for Erec's conduct in Enide's words or actions up to the end of v. 2507 or in her speech of explanation in vv. 2540-2575 can, I think, be upheld in view of the contradictory evidence of v. 2576, where Erec admits her justification, and perhaps that of vv. 4926-8¹⁰ in Erec's reconciliation speech, where he apparently abjures his right of sovereignty.¹¹ This last passage is treated ingeniously, but too briefly and not convincingly, I think, in the article mentioned (see *Mod. Philol.*, XI, 448-9), for Erec's words seem to recognize not merely Enide's actual power but also her right to exercise it without check. I am disposed to think that the idea of sovereignty in marriage was not at all in Chrétien's mind. If it was there present as one factor in determining Erec's actions it can have been only a comparatively unimportant factor. I feel pretty sure that Chrétien did not think of it as far as Enide's feelings and actions were concerned. The real motive is to be sought elsewhere. As I have said above (see pp. 117-18), I believe that Chrétien conceived of her as always loving and submissive to Erec after her marriage,¹² and that Erec's character in his conception was not such as to justify or excuse his recognizing the validity of her explanation in one place (v. 2576) and in almost the next breath beginning to treat her with harshness

10

Tot a vostre comandement
Vuel estre des or an avant
Aussi con j'estoie devant.

¹¹ It is certainly conceivable that in a more primitive form of the story Enide was a fairy and as such naturally had the upper hand, and that a relic of this situation has here survived. As to this I express no opinion. Chrétien perhaps simply meant here an expression of Erec's entire trust in Enide. It may be noticed that the word *comandement* is in rime, but this is not worth much as argument.

¹² If blame is attached to any one by the poet in v. 2439 ("De li fist s'amie et sa drue") it is to Erec and not to her. One may also compare, for whatever it may be worth, the French prose in Foerster's ed. 1890, p. 268, lines 12-15.

for the (really imaginary) fault of which he has just acquitted her. As an illustration of his power of calm reflection when under stress, one may compare his conduct when the dwarf strikes him (vv. 215-233), and also vv. 2725 ff. It is true, he apparently has some reason for complaining of slurs on his sovereignty, but the guilty ones are his own subjects, whose murmurings he has just learned of through Enide. But in v. 2577 he exculpates them also.

The psychological correctness of Erec's behavior urged in the same paper (p. 448) needs some comment. I am quite willing to grant that the conduct of Erec is psychologically explicable, that such a man might be unjust as he is (according to the sovereignty theory), though he has no plausible excuse. But this does not meet the real difficulty for me in the poem, which stands in the way of this theory. We are concerned in the present discussion not so much with the question whether Erec's conduct is psychologically natural or explicable as with the question whether the poet Chrétien made him act as he does with that reason (*i. e.*, that it is so explicable though it is unjust) in his (Chrétien's) mind. Nitze grants that Enide does not deserve (according to his and Foerster's theory) the very unjust treatment she gets, but he urges, in palliation of Erec's injustice, that it is not unnatural under the circumstances. But could the poet represent his hero as falling so far short of the ideal conduct of a good knight? We can see that a good man under tension may fall short of ideal conduct, but any intelligent outsider looking at the situation here presented must see that, in spite of the extenuating circumstances, Erec's conduct is distinctly discreditable, being flagrantly unjust. And Chrétien was such an intelligent outsider, and his readers were and are outsiders, and some of them in his own time must have been intelligent enough to see the unpardonable injustice Erec is, on this theory, guilty of toward Enide. Moreover he persists in it long after his anger has had time to cool. In the discussion of this point we may perhaps already see one of the reasons Chrétien may have had for not giving us explicitly Erec's motive as he (Chrétien) conceived it.¹⁸

¹⁸ In the same very interesting and ingenious paper (with only a small part of which I am concerned in this article) there is an argument against jealousy as Erec's motive. I am myself not one of those who think that in the one word "jealousy" lies the whole explanation of Erec's action. But the argument used (*ib.*, p. 447) seems to me inconclusive. It begins: "On the other hand, his

It is now time to ask if Chrétien does not furnish, though not in explicit terms, another reason for Erec's excessive harshness and for the perilous—for both Erec and Enide—expedition on which he forces her to accompany him, and to accompany him under most humiliating circumstances.

Such a reason I find in vv. 2514 ff., which recent discussions seem to have rather strangely neglected. Erec asks for an explanation of the words "Con mar i fus", which Enide has used. He says he knows they referred to him. Then Enide, not unnaturally, is frightened and loses her head. She answers that she does not know what he is talking about. He presses the question (vv. 2528-33), and she most unwisely persists in, let us say, evasiveness or equivocation, saying she thinks he must have been dreaming. Then he roughly breaks out, accusing her of lying (and one must recognize that the charge is not unjustified), and tells her it will be the worse for her if she does not confess the truth (vv. 2536-39). Now at last Enide sees that she must tell the truth and she does so fully and frankly. We know that she speaks with frankness, for Chrétien has previously told us of her trouble and why she had not spoken freely before. But can Erec be sure that she is doing so? Twice before she has tried to avoid telling the truth, and it

action is certainly not that of a jealous man. Were Erec jealous he would not constantly expose Enide to the temptation of getting rid of him [here a footnote referring to the romances and to *Guigemar*, 213]—a temptation for which Erec's expedition offers every opportunity." But this is precisely the kind of test which Chrétien's Erec might choose if really jealous, for it is a decisive one if it succeeds (cf. *Romania*, XX, 164), and what he may be supposed to wish is a crucial test, one which can leave no doubt in his mind in case Enide meets it successfully. The test which he applies, whatever he wishes to decide by it, may be compared with a desperate remedy in a case of dangerous illness, which will do one of two things, kill or cure. Erec's test comes dangerously near killing, but it does cure.

It is true, as Nitze goes on to say, that "Crestien takes especial care to show that Enide's virtue is above all suspicion, and states categorically in 3304: Erec ne fu mie jalos." But it is Chrétien as narrator that makes each of these statements, and the time of the former one is before Enide's monologue and her resulting talk with Erec. Chrétien tells his readers more than Erec need be supposed to know. We know, for Chrétien tells us so (cf. vv. 2430-31), that no evil could be said of her, and we feel sure that she is a true and loving wife. Erec also doubtless thinks so until some time after her monologue ends (v. 2507). But afterwards how is it with him? Verse 3304 is indecisive. I understand it as Foerster did (*Zs. f. franz. Spr. u. Lit.*, XXXVIII, 176), as referring to that particular occasion only (which is about 800 lines after the monologue).

required a third demand with an accompanying threat as well as with the charge of lying, which she could not deny, to bring her to tell what he recognizes as seeming to be a justification for her conduct up to the end of v. 2507. It is not in his eyes a complete justification, but he is not the man to reject her explanation entirely, for it may be quite true, though her veracity, through her own fault, is now under grave suspicion. It would not be in keeping with his character to give expression to all his feelings or to use qualifying phrases; he is intent on her real fault,¹⁴ and on his plan, compared with which all that she says is really of secondary importance. So he merely accepts, as we may suppose, provisionally or with a mental reservation ("if you are telling the truth now"), her explanation with the curt acknowledgment in vv. 2576-77.

But, with human nature as it is and as it has always been, no one can now or could in Chrétien's own time blame him for not feeling entirely sure of her sincerity. To such a man as Chrétien's Erec, stern and masterful as well as devotedly loving, any such uncertainty must be intolerable. At any cost he must learn the truth. While Enide is speaking we can imagine him (strictly speaking, in Chrétien's conception of his character) as listening with patient and attentive courtesy, and at the same time gradually conceiving a plan to settle his doubt, or rather doubts. I say doubts, for there may well be more than one in his mind. The first, the all-inclusive one, is of course doubt of her veracity. The next is doubt of her love for himself. That this doubt existed the reconciliation speech¹⁵ clearly shows. Was there any suspicion that she loved another, or that she preferred another to him? I see no way of deciding this point and no need of assuming any such suspicion,

¹⁴ His blame of her is not because she has given him information (v. 2576 says that she has done right); it is because she refused him information (vv. 2526-34). It is perhaps the remembrance of that one lack of frankness with him that best explains "un certain ressentiment," noticed by Gaston Paris (*Romania*, XX, 164, n. 1), in vv. 4929-30 (quoted above, note 9; they are 4927-8 in Foerster's first edition). At the time of the reconciliation he no longer doubts the entire sincerity of her conduct towards him since that former error of hers, but that one lapse, though forgiven, has yet left a little soreness.

¹⁵

Ma douce suer!

Bien vos ai del tot essaiee!

Ne soiez de rien esmaiee,

Qu'or vos aim plus, qu'ains mes ne fis,

Et je resui certains et fis,

Que vos m'amez parfitement, etc. (vv. 4920-25)

natural though it may be. Chrétien gives us no hint of the existence of any man whom Erec could suspect, and the hero expresses no such suspicion as Geraint has in the Welsh. There may have been jealousy plainly mentioned as Erec's motive in Chrétien's source, but it does not appear that jealousy with its usual implication of a rival is needed to explain Chrétien's form of the story. Another doubt we may conjecture, and that is Erec's own doubt of himself. Are those who blame him as having lost his former prowess really right? Has he indeed lost something of that prowess in the idle and relaxing life he has been leading? He must justify himself in his own eyes as well as in the eyes of his detractors. The imperious need of solving such doubts as these leads him to the "kill or cure" remedy which he chooses for the situation in which he finds himself.¹⁶

The preceding discussion shows where, in my opinion, Enide's fault (or guilt) lies. I have not thought it necessary to treat in this article the question of the ultimate or the immediate sources of Chrétien's *Erec*, nor that of the relation of the Welsh prose tale to his poem. But it will be noticed that what I look upon as her real fault and as the chief cause, if not indeed the only cause, of Erec's subsequent treatment of her is not mentioned in the Welsh,¹⁷ and it may well be that Chrétien is entirely original in vv. 2515-42. If he is, I think that he deserves much credit, and that the whole passage under discussion shows him at his best in delineation of character, or rather in characterization by means of the actions and utterances of his characters.

Let us assume for the moment that Chrétien's source explicitly mentioned jealousy as Erec's motive (as is not improbable; whether it really did so or not is a question which I avoid), and that he suppressed all mention of jealousy, whether because he did not wish to put his hero in a somewhat ridiculous light as a jealous husband or for some other reason. According to my understanding, however,

¹⁶ In vv. 2725 ff. we see that he fully understands what serious risks he is running, and he makes provision for the future of Enide in case he is killed and she returns. It is now necessary for the success of his plan that he should show himself absolutely fearless, whatever peril may present itself.

¹⁷ The German poet, Hartmann, has not altogether omitted (as the Norse does) the remarkable passage in Chrétien on which I lay such stress, but he seems not to see its full importance. It is not without interest to compare the French prose for the whole passage; see Foerster's *Erec* (large edition), pp. 268-9.

he could not, or at least did not, leave out the idea of doubt in Erec's mind concerning Enide, and if he simply avoided the word jealousy and did no more the whole situation would certainly suggest the thing itself to the reader. It was accordingly necessary to find a cause for that doubt, and one which should not inevitably involve the suggestion to the reader's mind of jealousy as the real motive. He hit on the happy idea of the very natural timidity of the weaker sex in its dealings with the stronger one, and used it very effectively and with perfect naturalness. He makes Erec ask his almost inevitable question at first with no sign of anger or even irritation; he simply wonders why Enide shows such sadness over his situation. Her fear of him, natural enough if we suppose Chrétien's conception of him to be that he is a knightly man of strong will and imperious nature though by no means unreasonable, is the reason why she tries to evade his question; the subject is one which we know she had not had the courage to mention to him. Then her continued attempt to avoid answering and her obvious insincerity, which provoke him to anger and to a threat in case she persists in concealing the truth, her tardy perception of her mistake and her final frankness, his curt recognition (in four words) of her justification,¹⁸ so far as it goes, his meanwhile formed plan (perhaps not yet complete) for testing her sincerity and for solving all the doubts she has raised in his mind, a plan which he does not tell her at once, ordering her at first simply to make ready to ride on her best palfrey and in her best apparel (note how the usually diffuse Chrétien has given the whole of Erec's speech in eight lines)—all this seems to me well conceived and skilfully executed by the poet. It may be an indication to us of the manner in which, when at his best, he was capable of treating his sources. Such skill in characterization is not likely to have existed in his source in this instance.

The Welsh story might either have preserved the jealousy motive from a source common to it with Chrétien, or it might have carelessly inferred it from Chrétien's account and omitted as superfluous his indication of another and very plausible motive. Between these two possibilities I do not care to choose as yet.

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¹⁸ She offers none for what is her real fault in his eyes, her lack of veracity.

THE QUECHUA DRAMA, OLLANTA

I

OLLANTA is the most important literary work that has been composed in any language indigenous to America. The drama itself has little intrinsic merit, but it has become famous by reason of the fact that many suppose it to have been composed before the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards. This theory of the antiquity of *Ollanta* has been held by Barranca,¹ Tschudi,² Markham,³ Pacheco Zegarra,⁴ and others of less weight; and it has come to be accepted by a not inconsiderable number of historians and writers of encyclopedic articles.⁵

¹ José S. Barranca, *Ollanta, ó sea la severidad de un padre y la clemencia de un rey, drama dividido en tres actos, traducido del quichua al castellano, con notas diversas*, Lima, 1868.

² J. J. von Tschudi, *Die Kechuasprache*, 3 vols., Wien, 1853. (The second part contains the text of *Ollanta*.)

—, *Ollanta. Ein altperuanisches drama aus der Kechuasprache. Übersetzt und commentirt.* Wien, 1875.

—, *Ollanta*, in *K. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse.* Wien, 1876.

The second and third publications contain what is known as Tschudi's second text of *Ollanta*. All quotations from *Ollanta* and all line-numbers that are cited in the present article refer to Tschudi's first text; but whenever Tschudi's opinion with regard to the origin of *Ollanta* is quoted, the reference is to the pages of the third publication.

³ Clements R. Markham, *Ollanta, an Ancient Ynca drama. Translated from the Original Quinchua.* London, 1871 (Contains a Quechua text, with a translation into English).

—, *The Incas of Peru*, London, 1910 (Contains *Apu Ollantay*, a translation into English).

⁴ Gavino Pacheco Zegarra, *Ollantay, drame en vers quechuas du temps des Incas, traduit et commenté*, Paris, 1878.

⁵ Cf. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, vol. XXI (1911), p. 269 (speaks of *Ollanta* as an "Inca drama"); *New International Encyclopedia*, vol. XV (1905), p. 638 ("There was also a considerable body of song, legend and drama handed down by oral tradition. Among these the drama of *Ollanta*, committed to writing soon after the conquest, has been translated into several languages"); Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. I (1889), p. 282 ("... the drama of *Ollanta*, in all essential points, is of Inca origin," in article written by Markham); John Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, vol. II (1892), p. 363

If *Ollanta* was composed before the Spanish conquest, it is, with the possible exception of a few short lyrics, the only specimen of ancient Quechua⁶ poetry that has survived, and it is therefore of the greatest interest to students of comparative literature and to American archeologists. When we are told that a complete dramatic text has come down to us, virtually intact, from the ancient Peruvians, we are to be excused if we doubt at first. The burden of proof certainly rests on those who claim antiquity for *Ollanta*, and scholars should not accept the claim without conclusive evidence. It is the aim of this article to give an account of *Ollanta*, and then to present whatever evidence we now possess both for and against its antiquity.

The following is a résumé of the play:⁷

Act I. *Ollanta*, a chieftain of lowly birth, has won the love of Cusi-Coyllur ("Joy-Star"), daughter of the Inca Pachacutic. He speaks of his love to his servant, Piqui-Chaqui ("Flea-Foot"), and later to the high priest, Uillac-Umu (prophet or seer), both of whom warn him of the risk of wooing the Inca's daughter. In another scene the queen, Ccoya, who knows of this love-affair, seeks to console her daughter, who weeps and declares her fear that *Ollanta* has deserted her. Enter the King. Enter a chorus of boys and girls who dance. The boys sing to distract Cusi-Coyllur.⁸

("The Incas had bardic recitals and theatrical exhibitions; and one ancient drama, entitled '*Ollanta*,' has come down to us"); James Bryce, *South America* (1913), p. 155 f. ("There were, however, dramas which used to be acted, and among them one considerable work which, long preserved by oral recitations, was written down in the seventeenth century by Dr. Valdez, a Spaniard, the priest of Sicuani, and generally held to be in the main of native authorship, though perhaps touched up by Spanish taste. This is the so-called drama of *Ollantay*"); *et al.*

⁶ Or "Quichua." Most modern scholars prefer "Quechua" or "Queshua." Thus, Tschudi, Pacheco Zegarra, Middendorf, Pietschmann, Lenz, and others.

⁷ The orthography of the proper names is that of Tschudi's first text, with the one exception of Uillac-Umu (Huillca-Uma in the first text) which Tschudi, in his second edition, adopts from Markham's text, and which Middendorf (see page 139 of this article) also adopts.

⁸ The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version of this song ("O Tuya" is repeated after each line): "Little bird, do not eat,—O Tuya,—In my princess' garden—Do not thus consume—The delicious maize.—White are the grains,—The ears are tender,—Of good savor within;—Soft are the leaves.—The snare for the greedy;—In the bird-lime thou shalt stick.—I shall cut off thy claws,—And thou shalt be caught.—Ask of the Piscaca.—You see it is strangled.—Ask for its heart;—Seek its feathers;—You see it has been

Exit the boys, and the maidens sing a *yarahui*.⁹ Ollanta appears before the king, and asks his daughter in marriage. The king refuses in anger, and dismisses Ollanta. In a monologue the latter gives expression to his sorrow and resentment.¹⁰ Ollanta and Piqui-Chaqui speak of flight from Cuzco. A song by an invisible singer is heard.¹¹

torn to pieces.—It picked only one little grain;—The same will befall you,—If only one (grain) is missing.” The spirit of this song would seem to indicate that it may be an adaptation of a folk-song. The *tuya* is a small bird. The *piscaca* is a larger bird whose dead body is sometimes fastened to a tree, to frighten away the *tuya*.

⁹ The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version: “Two loving doves mourn and grieve, sigh and coo on an old, dry tree-trunk: a cruel fate has separated them. But one, it is told, lost its beloved companion in a stony field; it had never left it alone before. And the dove weeps and laments when it sees its companion and finds that it is already dead. And it sings in these words: ‘Where are thy eyes, O dove, and where thy lovely breast, thy heart so dear to me, thy softly caressing mouth?’ And the abandoned dove, wandering from rock to rock, calling out in tears, flies hither and thither, ever asking: ‘My heart, where art thou?’ Thus speaking, it flutters, and one morning it sinks down dead.”

¹⁰ As this monologue is generally considered the strongest passage in the drama, a literal translation of Middendorf's version is given here: “O Ollanta, Ollanta, thus does he (the king) expose thee to the scorn of all the land in return for so many services which thus hast rendered! O Cusi-Coyllur, my wife, today I have lost thee. I have brought thee to destruction, O princess. O my dove! O Cuzco, O beautiful city, from today, in the future, I shall be an enemy, an enemy, who will cruelly tear open thy bosom, to cast to the vultures thy heart, this tyrant, thy Inca. Persuading the Antis and seducing my countrymen, I shall bring many, many thousands, armed with shields. On the Sacsahuaman thou wilt perceive my warriors like a cloud. Then the flames will rise; thou wilt sleep in blood and thy Inca at my feet. Then shall he learn whether the valleys will fail me, whether thou still hast a voice. ‘By no means can I give her to thee,’ he said to me, (speaking) of his daughter. And then this word also escaped him: ‘But she could not be for thee,’ he said, terribly enraged, as I besought him on my knees. He is king because I am here: every one knows that. Now let happen (what may)!” Sacsahuaman is a hill overlooking Cuzco on which are the ruins of an ancient fortress or palace. Cf. Cieza de León, *Crónica del Perú, Segunda parte*, (edición de Jiménez de la Espada; Madrid. 1880), cap. LI; Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, p. 32 f.; and Bryce, *South America*, p. 118.

¹¹ The following is a literal translation of Middendorf's version of the Song of the Unknown: “A dove that I cherished I lost in a moment. If you wish to see her, seek her near here. She is loving and fair of face: her name is Star. You might mistake her for another: look at her well. The moon and the sun, in bright radiance, shine upon her brow joyously. And her soft hair of deepest black forms with the white of her beautiful ear a contrast that blinds the eye. The eye-brows form rainbows upon her lovely face: two suns

Act II. A messenger reports to the king and his general, Rumiñahui ("Stone-Eye"), that the Andean mountaineers have rebelled and proclaimed Ollanta their king. The scene now shifts to the fortress of Ollanta-Tambo.¹² The chief's and people proclaim Ollanta king. In a lonely mountain pass Rumiñahui bemoans his defeat by Ollanta's forces. The scene shifts to the convent of the elect virgins in Cuzco. Pitu-Salla ("Mother-Stone") urges Yma-Sumac ("Very-Beautiful"), a girl some ten years of age (the fruit of the love of Ollanta and Cusi-Coyllur), to remain in the convent; but Yma-Sumac does not wish to become an elect virgin, and she tells of hearing some one sob at night. Rumiñahui meets Piqui-Chaqui on a street in Cuzco, and tells him that the Inca Pachacutic is dead and his son, Thupac-Yupanqui, has ascended the throne. The new Inca urges Rumiñahui to conquer Ollanta. Rumiñahui, covered with self-inflicted wounds, betakes himself to Ollanta's fortress, and declares that, having been thus ill treated by the Inca, he has come to join forces with Ollanta.

Act III. In the convent of the elect virgins, Pitu-Salla leads Yma-Sumac to the dark dungeon in which Cusi-Coyllur lies bound with a chain. Mother and daughter recognize each other. In the king's palace, a messenger announces the defeat and capture of Ollanta by Rumiñahui. The latter soon appears and confirms the news of his victory, relating how he won the confidence of Ollanta, and how, when Ollanta's men were drunk during the festival of the sun, he overpowered them. Ollanta and his followers are brought bound before the Inca, who at first condemns them to death and then, moved by pity, pardons them. The Inca restores Ollanta to his former rank, and announces that during his absence in a military campaign Ollanta shall serve as Inca in his stead. Yma-Sumac bursts into the hall, and, throwing herself in tears at the king's feet, tells of her mother's cruel imprisonment. The king and his retinue shine forth from her eyes about which are the rainbows. The eye-lashes scarcely let the all-victorious glances escape. There dwells love, beaming on all and captivating hearts. The achancarai (a red flower) blooms on her face, in the midst of snow: white alternates with red,—such is her appearance. In her beautiful mouth one sees snowy pearls, and when she smiles her sweet breath is wafted forth. And her soft neck, smooth as crystal, is as white as snow: her lovely breasts rise and fall with her bosom. Her tender little hand feels so soft, and her fingers, when they open, resemble icicles."

¹² The ruins of this structure are twelve leagues from Cuzco. In the early chronicles they are spoken of as Tampu or Tombo. Cf. Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales, Primera parte* (Lisbon, 1609), V, 5, and Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú* (Seville, 1533; and in *Bibl. de aut. esp., Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Madrid, 1879), Cap. XCIV. Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 185) believes that they date from a pre-Inca civilization.

go to the convent of the elect virgins, and there Cusi-Coyllur is recognized by both her brother and her lover. The Inca orders the release of Cusi-Coyllur, and gives her in marriage to Ollanta; and the play closes to the accompaniment of music.

The fact that *Ollanta* first appeared in the Quechua language has no bearing whatever on the question of the play's antiquity. It is a well known fact that in the Spanish colonies the priests were required to learn the native tongues, and, after residing for many years among the Indians, they came to speak the indigenous languages as well as Spanish. They translated from Spanish many religious works and wrote and published grammars and dictionaries of the native speeches. Sacred dramatic representations were given both in Spanish and in the indigenous languages almost from the time of the conquest. Pacheco Zegarra¹³ states that the early missionaries in Peru composed *autos*, some of which were in Quechua only, while in others Spanish and Quechua stanzas alternated. According to Beristain,¹⁴ at least two plays of Lope de Vega were early done into Nahuatl by Bartolomé de Alba, of Aztec descent, and performed, viz.: *El animal profeta y dichoso parricida San Julián* and *La madre de la Mejor*. D. Vicente G. Quesada, in his *Crónicas potosinas* (Paris, 1890), Vol. I, p. 305,¹⁵ gives an account of scenic fêtes at Potosí in the early days of that famous mining town. They seem to have been largely in the nature of historical pageants, and represented deeds of both the Incas and the Spanish conquerors. Verses were recited in Spanish and in Quechua. Pacheco Zegarra¹⁶ speaks of several dramas that were written in Quechua after the conquest, and gives the titles,—but not the authors and the dates,—of *La muerte de Atahuallpa*, *Usca Paucar*, and *Huasca Inca*. Middendorf has published the Quechua plays, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar* (see page 145 of this article); and Markham has in his possession manuscript copies of *Usca Paucar* and *El Pobre más rico*. Pacheco Zegarra¹⁷ tells us that his great-uncle, D. Pedro Zegarra (d. 1839), translated Racine's *Phèdre* into Quechua,

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxv.

¹⁴ *Biblioteca hispano-americana septentrional*, Mexico, 1816-21.

¹⁵ Quoted by Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, vol. III (1894), p. cclxxxvi f.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. cvii.

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. cxxiv.

and that the play was performed at least once. The Quechua language is still generally spoken by the Indians in the highlands of Peru,¹⁸ but as the aboriginal population is mostly illiterate, Quechua Literary works come from those who have been trained in Spanish schools. The *regionalista* movement of the nineteenth century which brought, for the time being, new life to Provençal, Catalán, Welsh and other languages that are in danger of extinction, may have reached the Quechua also and stimulated interest in *Ollanta*.

This Quechua drama seems to have come to light between 1770 and 1780 when a manuscript was produced by Dr. Antonio Valdés, parish priest of Tinta,¹⁹ who had the play performed with great pomp²⁰ before his friend, José Gabriel Condorcanqui (1744-1781), a native chieftain. This chieftain, who was of Inca blood, led a revolt against the Spaniards in 1780, with the Inca-title of Tupac-Amaru II, and was defeated and put to death together with all his family. Immediately after the revolt an order was issued against the performance of secular plays in the Quechua language.²¹ We next hear of *Ollanta* in an article published in *El Museo erudito*, Cuzco, 1837, by D. Manuel Palacios,²² entitled *Tradición de la rebelión de Ollanta* (or *Ollantay?*), y acto heroico de fidelidad de Rumiñahui, ambos generales del tiempo de los Incas. In an introduction to this article, Palacios says: "No encontrándose otra narración escrita de este antiquísimo suceso que la comedia que en lengua quechua formó pocos años ha el Dr. Antonio Valdés, cura que fué de Sicuani. Bien que confeccionada dicha pieza con el uniforme relato de la tradición, se encuentran innovaciones y voluntariedades que sin duda se las franqueó la licencia poética; ya en la invención de los nombres de los sujetos que representan el drama, y ya en el desenlace que resulta de él; que ni la tradición lo ministra, ni la equidad y justicia lo permiten; haciendo que un rey premie extraordinariamente la infidencia de Ollanta y en nada recompense la fidelidad heroica de Rumiñahui. Lo más notable en ello es el

¹⁸ Cf. Bryce, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

¹⁹ And, at one time, of Sicuani.

²⁰ Cf. Pacheco Zagarra, *op. cit.*, p. cxix.

²¹ Cf. Pacheco Zagarra, *op. cit.*, p. cix.

²² The article was reprinted in an appendix to Pacheco Zagarra's work. Tschudi, who had not seen the article, attributes its authorship to José Palacios (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 190).

anacronismo que padece, haciendo inmediato sucesor del Inca Pachacutic, en cuyo tiempo y al fin de su reinado supone el suceso de Ollanta, á Tupac-Inca-Yupanqui, que fué nieto de aquél é hijo del Inca Yupanqui, verdadero sucesor inmediato de Pachacutic."

According to this tradition, which Palacios obtained from the members of a certain native family, Rumiñahui entered the convent of the elect virgins, and was therefor condemned to death. A report of this incident soon reached Ollanta's camp. Rumiñahui explained his plot to the king, and was allowed to flee to Ollanta, whom he betrayed. Palacios says at the end of the tradition: "Aquí fenece la tradición sin expresar ni el premio que dió el Inca á Rumiñahui ni el castigo de Ollanta . . . La conteste narración de los historiadores del reino sobre la inviolable justificación del gobierno de los Incas nos obliga á creer que el delito de Ollanta no quedaría impune ni tampoco sin recompensa el heroismo de Rumiñahui." It should be noted that in this article the authorship of *Ollanta* is attributed to Dr. Valdés. After the latter's death in 1816, his nephew and heir, D. Narciso Cuenta, produced a manuscript copy of the play (in Valdés' handwriting, according to Tschudi²³), and declared that his uncle wrote it. So far as can be learned, the truth of this statement by Cuenta was not denied till many years later. It is said by those who uphold the antiquity of *Ollanta* that Dr. Valdés never claimed to be its author.²⁴ This may, or may not, be true; but, in any case, after the execution of Tupac-Amaru and most of his friends, and after the strict prohibition of secular Quechua dramas, Valdés had good reason to remain silent.

In 1853, in the chrestomathy of the second volume of his *Die Kechuasprache*,²⁵ Tschudi published an edition of the text of *Ollanta*, but without a translation. Tschudi states that he received a copy of the play from Rugendas, a painter from Munich who had spent a year or two sketching in Peru.²⁶ Rugendas told him that

²³ *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

²⁴ D. Vicente Fidel López, in *les Races aryennes du Pérou* (p. 325), says that his father, a friend of Valdés, did not know that the latter was the author of *Ollanta*; but he adds: "Toutefois je suis loin de prétendre que la forme actuelle du drame soit antérieure à la conquête."

²⁵ *Cf. op. cit.*

²⁶ *Cf. op. cit.*, p. 191.

he had seen the manuscript in the monastery of Santo Domingo at Cuzco, and had had it copied by a member of the order. The manuscript, he said, was in bad condition, and in part illegible.²⁷ In this text the play was divided into three acts, but it was not divided into scenes. In 1868 Barranca, a professor of natural sciences in the university of San Marcos at Lima, published a Spanish version of *Ollanta*, but without the Quechua text.²⁸ This version, which is in good idiomatic Spanish, seems to be a rather free translation of Tschudi's text. In an introduction, Barranca advances the theory that *Ollanta* consists of ancient fragments put together by Valdés, and he bases his belief in their antiquity on certain reasons of which the following are the most important: that there is no mention of Christianity, and a pagan society is pictured; it contains songs still heard; the language is archaic (although there are very few obsolete words); the manuscripts differ; and there is a chorus. Eighteen years after the appearance of Tschudi's edition, Markham published a text of *Ollanta*²⁹ which he himself had transcribed from a manuscript in the possession of D. Pablo Justiniani of Laris, Peru. In the introduction, which is short and of a popular nature, Markham states that Justiniani (who claimed to be of Inca blood) assured him that the drama was first reduced to writing by Dr. Valdés, and that the original manuscript was at that time in the possession of Valdés' nephew and heir, D. Narciso Cuentas of Tinta; that his (Justiniani's) copy was made by his father, D. Justo Pastor Justiniani, from Valdés' manuscript. Markham gives an English version of *Ollanta* and expresses his belief that the play is ancient. This second text of *Ollanta* is of value, for it contains some lines that had been omitted in Tschudi's edition and also some variants; but, unfortunately, it has many errors, probably made in copying.³⁰

²⁷ Middendorf (p. 114) relates that he visited the monastery of Santo Domingo to examine the manuscript, but he was told by both the prior and the librarian that they had never heard of the manuscript. The catalogue of the library did not contain the title of *Ollanta*, and although Middendorf searched the archives he failed to find a copy of the play.

²⁸ Cf. *op. cit.*

²⁹ Cf. *op. cit.*

³⁰ Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 205 f.) twits Markham with ignorance of Quechua and says his translation follows Barranca's version. And Pacheco Zegarra (*op. cit.*, p. cxviii) says: "Après un examen attentif des travaux de Markham sur le quechua, nous sommes arrivés à souscrire pleinement au jugement de

Markham gives the following reasons for believing *Ollanta* to be ancient: that the language is archaic, and that "there is not a single modern or Spanish word or phrase in the whole work . . . *Ollanta* is absolutely free from any indication of a Spanish touch."³¹ Dr. José Fernández Nodal published in 1873 or 1874 (no date is given) his *Elementos de la gramática quichua ó idioma de los Yncas*. Volume V, entitled *Prosodia*, contains a text of *Ollanta* with a translation into Spanish. This volume was later reprinted separately with the title: *Los vínculos de Ollanta y Cusi-kcuyllor. El rigor de un padre y magnanimidad de un monarca. Drama en quichua. Obra compilada y espurgada con la versión castellana al frente de su testo por el Dr. José Fernández Nodal, abogado de los tribunales de justicia de la república del Perú, Ayacucho* (but apparently printed in London in 1874). In the introduction, which is very brief, Dr. Nodal says: "Tal es el título de la más grande composición de la literatura del quichua que se guarda en algunos archivos del Perú. Se le atribuye por autor al Dr. D. Antonio Valdez, cura de Sicuani, que vivió por el tiempo de la insurrección de Tupac Amaro en 1781. Los que han querido recargar su mérito, concediéndole la antigüedad de la época de los Yncas, pretenden haberse representado á presencia de estos últimos monarcas en las festividades solemnes." Tschudi, in his second edition,³² says Nodal's text differs from all others, and was probably rewritten by Nodal himself. He expresses his belief, however, that Nodal had a thorough knowledge of Quechua. But Pacheco Zegarra³³ sharply criticizes Nodal's bizarre text.

Tschudi published in 1875 and again in 1876 a second edition of *Ollanta*,³⁴ with a translation into German. This text differs considerably from that first published by Tschudi. The editor corrected what he considered to be errors, he added or substituted words or lines from Markham's text and from that of a certain Bolivian manuscript, he changed the form of words, and especially

Tschudi qui pense que la langue des Incas était pour cet auteur un terrain étranger où il ne pouvait que s'égarer." These criticisms are scarcely fair, as Markham was then just beginning his Peruvian studies.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

³³ *Op. cit.*, pp. cxv and cxxi.

³⁴ Cf. *opera cit.*

the suffixes, to make them conform to the Quechua of the sixteenth century,³⁵ and he devised a new orthography to express better the sounds of the Quechua language. In a long introduction Tschudi expresses his belief in the antiquity of *Ollanta* and bases this belief chiefly on the following reasons: that Garcilaso states that the ancient Peruvians had tragedies and comedies;³⁶ the drama is written fully in the spirit of the Inca-Peruvians; there is no reference to Christianity; *Ollanta* and his beloved do not meet alone in the play, and *Ollanta* is a sorry hero (he praises his own heroism and is finally captured when drunk); in the rapid changes of time and place the play, he says, differs from the old Spanish drama; the language of the play is archaic and does not conform to the popular speech of today (1875) or at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and there are almost no Spanish words or idioms; and the meter is not Spanish, as some lines are of irregular length and some are incomplete, and the movement is regularly trochaic.

Tschudi also presents in this second edition an important piece of evidence against the authorship of Valdés. In 1858 Herr Harmen, a resident of Arequipa, Peru, gave Tschudi several books and manuscripts in the Quechua language, among which was a manuscript copy of *Ollanta*. This manuscript had seemingly been water-soaked and was partly decayed, so that only 466 whole verses and 172 defective verses were legible. It bore a Spanish title, *Ollanta, ó la severidad de un padre y la clemencia de un rey*. At the end of the text were words in Spanish that Tschudi deciphered as follows:

Na Sra de la Paz

oi 18 de Junio de 1735

Miguel Ortiz

Now this date, if correctly deciphered, is approximately that of the birth of Dr. Valdés, and if the copy was made at that time, Valdés, of course, could not be the author. Middendorf³⁷ brushes this evi-

³⁵ This is the most important change of all, and it is not mentioned in the introduction. Apparently Tschudi was so convinced of the antiquity of *Ollanta* that he considered the modern forms of his manuscript copy to be errors of a copyist; or, as Middendorf (page 124) suggests, he was ignorant of modern Quechua.

³⁶ Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 195) believes that *Ollanta* survived as it was peculiarly the love-poem of the Cuzco Indians, while hundreds of other poems were lost.

³⁷ Page 134.

dence aside as of little value. He speaks of Tschudi's "so-called Bolivian manuscript," and suggests that the correct reading is probably 1785. In this second edition Tschudi gives, in parallel columns, copies of his first text and of Markham's text, together with the variants found in the Bolivian manuscript. This makes the work highly valuable to the student of *Ollanta*, although Tschudi's introductory matter and notes are disappointingly deficient in critical scholarship. The next edition of *Ollanta* to appear was that of Pacheco Zegarra,³⁸ which was published at Paris in 1878, and contains the Quechua text in a phonetic alphabet devised by the editor together with a free translation into French, an introduction and notes, and, in an appendix, a copy of the article in *El Museo erudito*. The text of this edition is in the main that of Tschudi, but with variants taken from Markham's copy and also from another manuscript copy formerly in the possession of Pacheco Zegarra's great-uncle D. Pedro Zegarra. The editor arbitrarily divides the play into scenes and dialogues. Pacheco Zegarra holds that *Ollantāi*, and not *Ollanta*, is the correct form of the name, and that the suffix *-i* denotes the inhabitant of a place, so that *Ollantāi* means an inhabitant of Ollanta.³⁹ Middendorf⁴⁰ denies this and states positively that there is no such locative suffix in Quechua. Pacheco Zegarra was for years a resident of Cuzco, where Quechua is still commonly spoken, and his phonetic alphabet, therefore, is of value to the student of modern Quechua; but he seems not to have been acquainted with the older Quechua, for when Tschudi changed his text to conform to the language of the sixteenth century, Pacheco Zegarra cried out that Tschudi was introducing new forms. Pacheco Zegarra's work is interesting by reason of the author's knowledge of modern Quechua and of the life and customs of the present-day indigenous peoples of Peru. He also presents a mass

³⁸ Cf. *op. cit.*

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. xxxiii. We have already spoken of the pre-historic ruins of Tambo, or Ollanta-Tambo, twelve leagues from Cuzco, which some writers assume to have been Ollanta's place of refuge. Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 187) says: "I hold, therefore, that Ollanta was not the name of an individual but of a ruling family, that this (family) had already built the palace and the fortress (of Tambo) in pre-Inca times, and that the fortress was already in ruins before the Inca dynasty was firmly established." But Tschudi offers no satisfactory evidence in favor of this assumption.

⁴⁰ Page 90.

of material bearing on the setting of *Ollanta*, some of which is important. But his work, as a whole, is hasty and ill-digested and reveals a lack of critical judgment. In his introduction he accepts without reservation the more or less fanciful accounts of an ancient Peruvian Utopia;⁴¹ he accepts as authenticated the existence of a well developed dramatic literature in old Peru (quoting Garcilaso and Prescott), although "la peinture et la sculpture étaient encore tout-à-fait dans l'enfance parmi eux,"⁴² and states that "*Ollanta*" is "l'unique monument qui nous reste du génie des Incas en matière de poésie,"⁴³ and again, "*Ollanta*" is "tout ce qui reste de la littérature de l'empire."⁴⁴ In addition to the arguments that had already been advanced in favor of the ancient origin of the play, Pacheco Zegarra gives these: there is not an idea that is exclusively peculiar to the literatures of modern Europe or to the Latin and Greek; the chorus was not used in the old Spanish drama; the unities of time, place and action are observed to a less degree than even in the works of the romantic poets; the scenes shift oftener than would be possible on the modern stage; the verse differs from Spanish in that there are rimed couplets, there is occasionally assonance of every line to the number of eight or more consecutive lines,⁴⁵ synalepha is rare, and a line left unfinished by one speaker is never completed by another; and the song, "O Tuya," is still heard in Cuzco.

⁴¹ When the Spaniards reached Peru, the half-brothers Huascar and Atahualpa were engaged in a fierce fratricidal struggle, which ended with the assassination of Huascar by the secret orders of his brother. And yet Pacheco Zegarra, after relating this fact, blandly continues: "Les Incas étaient loin de ressembler à ces fameux aventuriers qui de nos jours, sans autre mobile que la soif du lucre, sans autres aspirations que celle de leur ambition démesurée, montent à l'assaut du pouvoir suprême, après avoir épuisé dans des guerres fratricides les richesses de leur patrie et versé à flots le sang de leur concitoyens" (*op. cit.*, p. xxix). Tschudi (*op. cit.*, p. 178) avers that human sacrifice was common even under the Incas, and was finally suppressed by the Spaniards. Cieza de León (*op. cit.*, *2a parte*) speaks several times of human sacrifice. Cf. Cap. XXVIII. Middendorf (page 19) believes, however, that it did not form part of the worship of the sun. There seems little doubt that the vaunted "civilization" of the ancient Peruvians has been greatly exaggerated by Garcilaso, by the early chroniclers who seem to have believed all that the old grandmothers told them, and by most who have followed.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. xi.

⁴⁵ The writer of this article has not found such *laisses* of assonated lines in any of the texts.

The most scholarly treatment of *Ollanta* by a Quechua scholar which has thus far appeared is the work entitled *Ollanta, ein Drama der Keshuasprache. Übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen versehen, nebst einer Einleitung über die religiösen und staatlichen Einrichtungen der Inkas*, von Dr. E. W. Middendorf. Leipzig, 1890.⁴⁶ This writer states in his preface that when he began his study of the Quechua play he assumed it to be ancient, but "at the first reading of *Ollanta* doubts concerning the antiquity of the play occurred to him, which with further investigation so increased that it was no longer possible to doubt the modern origin of the drama. . . in its present form," and he adds: "it is a modern work and was certainly composed a long time after the Spanish conquest of the country." Later in the work he says again: "The play in its present form, and in the language given in the manuscripts, does not come from the time of the Incas, but was composed after the conquest of the country by the Spaniards."⁴⁷ Middendorf did what no one had done before him in that he made a careful comparison of the language of the Tschudi and Markham texts with the Quechua of the sixteenth century as given in the works of Holguín and others.⁴⁸ He shows that the phonology of older Quechua differs considerably from that of the modern language. Thus, in the sixteenth century, the genitive suffix, after a single vowel, was *-p*, while it is now *-c* (compare old *yayap* with modern *yayac*); the accusative suffix after a vowel was *-cta*, which has become *-ta* (cf. *yayacta* and *yayata*); the verbal ending of the first and second per-

⁴⁶ Other works on the indigenous languages of Peru, by Dr. Middendorf, are: *Das Runa Simi oder die Keshua-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1890; *Wörterbuch des Runa Simi oder der Keshua-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1890; *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1890; *Die Aymarà-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1891; *Das Muchik oder die Chimu-Sprache*, Leipzig, 1892.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁴⁸ Among the earlier grammars and lexicons of Quechua are: *Grammática ó Arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Perú, nuevamente compuesta por el Maestro Fray Domingo de S. Thomas de la orden de S. Domingo*, Valladolid, 1560; *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Qquichua, ó Lengua del Inca, por Diego González Holguín de la Compañía de Jesus*, Lima 1586; *Grammática y Arte nueva* (the rest of the title as above), Lima, 1607; *Grammática y Vocabulario en la lengua general del Perú llamada Quinchua y en la lengua Española, por Diego de Torres Rubid*, Sevilla, 1603; Lima, 1619, 1700, 1754. Cf. Pacheco Zegarra, *op. cit.*, p. clxv f.; and Middendorf, *Das Runa Simi oder die Keshua-Sprache*, p. 29 f.

sons plural was *-c*, which has become *-s* (cf. *canchic* and *canchis*); etc. He found that in the manuscripts of the seventeenth century the modern forms begin to make their appearance, and there is hesitancy between the two forms so that not seldom both occur on the same page.⁴⁹ Now, in the known manuscripts of *Ollanta* only the modern forms occur: these manuscripts, therefore, are of later date than the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ Middendorf finds some archaic words in the drama, but not more than one would expect in view of the fact that it was reduced to writing a hundred years before his day.⁵¹ Other important grounds on which Middendorf bases his belief in the modern origin of *Ollanta* are: the ancient Quechua verse did not have rime; the action of the play does not conform to the laws and customs of the ancient Peruvians in that *Ollanta*, who is "not of Inca blood" (v. 238), marries the Inca's daughter, and Yma Sumac enters and leaves the convent of the elect virgins at will; Spanish words and translations of Spanish idioms are found in the text, and there are references to things and customs that were introduced by the Spaniards.⁵²

The Rev. J. H. Gybbon Spilsbury published in 1897, at Buenos Aires, a work entitled *El Quichua, gramática y crestomatía, seguido de la traducción de un manuscrito inédito del drama titulado Ollanta*. This sounds interesting; but the work has no introduction, nor does the editor deign to state where he found the "manuscrito inédito" or where it now rests. He gives free translations of *Ollanta* in English, French and Spanish, with the versions neatly arranged in parallel columns. One can not discover in this work the slightest trace of scholarship.

In Markham's *The Incas of Peru* there is a free English translation, in verse, of *Ollanta*, with a short introduction, and a few

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 110 f.

⁵⁰ Markham apparently accepts this conclusion as final, as he grants that the play was "first reduced to writing in 1770 (*The Incas of Peru*, p. 323).

⁵¹ Tschudi, who seems to have known the older Quechua better than that spoken in his day, in his second edition of the text of *Ollanta* has conscientiously substituted old for new forms. Thus: v. 6: *Yncac* (1st ed.) > *Incap* (2d ed.); v. 17: *cuncaiquita* (1st ed.) > *cuncaikicta* (2d ed.); v. 194: *upyanichis* (1st ed.) > *upiyanchik* (2d ed.). In v. 194 Tschudi, by using the archaic form, makes the line too long by one syllable.

⁵² These are treated more fully in the critical analysis of the play in the third part of this article.

pages on the subject in Chapter X. An incomplete bibliography is given in which Middendorf's work does not appear. Markham repeats that Dr. Justiniani told him "that the *Ollantay* play was put into writing by Dr. Don Antonio Valdez, the cura of Sicuani, from the mouths of Indians." He still maintains that *Ollanta* is an ancient Inca drama, and his grounds for so believing are: that Garcilaso, Molina and Salcamayhua mention the existence of ancient Quechua plays; that "there is a clear proof that the memory of the old dramatic lore was preserved, and that the dramas were handed down by memory after the Spanish conquest. It is to be found in the sentence pronounced on the rebels by the Judge Areche, in 1781. It prohibited the representation of dramas as well as all other festivals which the Indians celebrated in memory of their Incas."⁵³

The following translations of *Ollanta* have been published in addition to those already mentioned: *Ollanta. Drama quichua, puesto en verso castellano por Constantino Carrasco*, Lima, 1876. This is a metrical version of Barranca's translation. German translation of *Ollanta*, in verse, by A. Wickenburg, Vienna, 1876. *Ollanta. Drama quechua, traducido en romance*, por B. Pacheco, Cuzco, 1881. Spanish translation of Pacheco Zegarra's French version, in *Biblioteca universal*, Madrid, 1885.

II.

Since the versification of *Ollanta* has not been treated fully in any of the editions, it is considered at some length in this article. With the exception of two lyrics, *Ollanta* is composed in octosyllabic verses. There are occasional lines too long or too short by one or more syllables: e. g.,—10 syllables (138⁵⁴); 9 syllables (38, 236⁵⁵); 7 syllables (256); 6 syllables (9,⁵⁶ 228⁵⁷). A curious peculiarity of the versification of the play is that a line left incomplete by one speaker is not completed in the next speech: e. g.,—verses 263, 268. Of the eighteen incomplete lines in Tschudi's first

⁵³ It will be recalled that this sentence was pronounced after the defeat of "Tupac Amaru II" and shortly after the first recorded appearance of *Ollanta*.

⁵⁴ The line numbers are those of Tschudi's first text. This line has 9 syllables in Markham's text.

⁵⁵ Both have 8 in Markham's text.

⁵⁶ Nine in Markham's text.

⁵⁷ Eight in Markham's text.

text, however, seven are completed in Markham's text. Pacheco Zegarra⁵⁸ states that Quechua verses have regular trochaic movement, and therefore verses must have an even number of syllables, and a line of eight syllables is better adapted to the drama than lines of six or ten syllables; but a study of accentuation in the verses of *Ollanta* shows that the proportion of lines with regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is not much greater than in ordinary Spanish romance-verse.⁵⁹ The verses of *Ollanta*, therefore, are not necessarily octosyllabic by reason of regular trochaic movement, but would seem to be so because the author counted his syllables.

With regard to rime, the octosyllabic lines are chiefly in *redondillas* (*a b b a*), with occasional *décimas*,⁶⁰ *quintillas*,⁶¹ rimed couplets,⁶² and blank lines.

The following passages illustrate the commoner verse-forms.⁶³

Redondillas:

Huñu huñu huarancata
Anticunata llullaspa
Suyuicunata tocllaspa
pusamusacc pulleccancata,

Saccsa huamanpin ricunqui
Rimaita phuyuta hina;
Chaipin sayarincca nina
Yahuarpin chaipi puñunqui . . .
(Verses 534-541)

Quintilla:

Munacusay Pitu-Salla
Haicac caman ñei pacanqui
Chai simita? Ricui Salla
Cai sonccoitan patmihuanqui
Caina huequehuan camalla . . .
(Verses 1195-1199)

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. cxliii.

⁵⁹ Thus, in the monologues of *Ollanta* (verses 519-554) and *Rumiñahui* (verses 867-913), which are generally held to be the best parts of the play, of 83 lines, 44 can not be read with regular binary movement.

⁶⁰ Cf. verses 152-181.

⁶¹ Cf. verses 1195-1199.

⁶² Cf. verses 293-310.

⁶³ The stress almost invariably falls on the penultimate syllable of a Quechua word.

Décima:

Chaichica cuyasccanmanchu
 Chai qquellita cutichihuacc?
 Mitcaspachu puririhuacc
 Urmahuacc huc pponccomanchu?
 Manan Ynca munanmanchu
 Anchatan Ccoillurta cuyan⁶⁴
 Rimarinqui chairi cunan
 Ttocyancan phiñaricuspa
 Ccantac ricui muspha muspha⁶⁵
 Auquimanta cahuac runan?
 (Verses 172-181)

Rimed couplets:

Ay Mamallay, ay Ñustallay
 Ay huayllucuscacai ccosallai
 Ccanta ricsicunaipacha
 Quillapi chai yana ppacha,
 Ynitipas pacaricuspa
 Ccosapaurccan chiri uspha,
 Phuyupas tacru ninahuan
 Llaquita pailla huillahuan,
 Ccoyllurpas chasca tucuspa
 Chupata aisaricuspa
 Tucuiñincu tapia carccan
 Hinantipas pisiparccan . . .
 (Verses 293-304)

In the *redondillas*, *décimas* and *quintillas*, assonance occasionally replaces consonantal rime.⁶⁶ In one lyrical passage, verses 1259-1297, there are several consecutive stanzas with the rime-scheme *a b a b a b c c*. Usually the final syllables of the last line of one speech do not rime with those of the first line of the following speech. Consequently, in rapid dialogue the rime is usually broken or may disappear entirely,⁶⁷ and even in long speeches the interposition of

⁶⁴ Note assonance instead of consonantal rime.

⁶⁵ Aspirated *ph* and *th* rime with *p* and *t* respectively.

⁶⁶ Thus, verses 894-897:

Hinantimpin rumi ñitin
 Hinantimpin ccacca pacan,
 Ashuan acllasecacunatan
 Chaipi, caipi cumpa sipin . . .

⁶⁷ Cf. Act II, Scene 9.

a blank line is not rare. There are no series of alternate assonating lines as in the Spanish *romance*-verse.

In the "Boys' Song" (verses 349-365), the lines are of 10 syllables, with regular ternary movement. Thus:

Ama Pisco miccúichu Tuyállai
Ñustallápa chacránta Tuyállai
Manan hina tucúichu Tuyállai
Hillorína saránta Tuyállai . . .⁶⁸

This resembles the 10-syllable line that Iriarte used in Spain in the eighteenth century, and which, in the nineteenth century, was largely used in the patriotic hymns of Spain and Spanish America.⁶⁹ In most of these lines in *Ollanta*, excluding the refrain, there is the rime-scheme *a b a b, c d c d*, etc. The "Song of the Unknown" (verses 599-638) is in adonics, with rime-scheme *a b a b, c d c d*, etc., throughout. Thus:

Urpi uyhuáita—chincachicúni
Huc chhimlleillápi
Pacta ricúhuac—tapucuipúni
Cai quitillápi . . .

After this lyric come nine lines by Ollanta which are probably also sung. These are alternating lines of 5 and 8 syllables, with the same rime-scheme as in the preceding verses.

In *Ollanta*, then, we find chiefly *redondillas*, *décimas*, and *quintillas*, and these forms are so well defined that none can be accidental.⁷⁰ It is evident, therefore, that the versification of *Ollanta* is, in the main, in imitation of Spanish prosodic arrangements. It differs, however, from that of the Spanish secular drama in the absence of *romance*-verse and in the employment of rimed couplets of 8-syllable lines, and it differs from Spanish prosody generally in that there are numerous blank lines scattered among the *redondillas*, *quintillas*, and *décimas*, that assonance sometimes replaces conso-

⁶⁸ In Tschudi's text *Tuyallai* is given twice in every line; but it is given only once in the texts of Markham, Pacheco Zegarra, and Middendorf.

⁶⁹ Cf. Hills and Morley, *Modern Spanish Lyrics*, p. lxxii.

⁷⁰ It is interesting to note that there are no *décimas* in *Ollanta* after the second scene of the first act. It is difficult to write *décimas*, and apparently the author ceased trying to do so.

nantal rime in these strophes, and that a broken line at the end of a speech is usually not completed in the following speech.

In order to throw light on the versification of *Ollanta*, it is necessary first to compare it with that of other dramatic works in the Quechua language. . . . Dr. E. W. Middendorf, in his *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache* (Leipzig, 1891), gives texts of two religious dramas composed in the Quechua language, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar*.⁷¹ The full title of the first is *Auto sacramental del Hijo Pródigo, del insigne Poeta D. Juan de Espinosa-Medrano, de los Monteros, Arcediano del Insigne Cabildo de la Gran ciudad del Cuzco*. Middendorf states that this "is the oldest of the Quechua dramatic poems still extant."⁷² The author, a native of Cuzco, was professor of theology and belles-lettres in the Seminary of San Antonio and dean of the cathedral of Cuzco. He was also called Dr. Lunarejo, on account of a large birthmark. He wrote several works in Spanish, including the *Apologético en favor de D. Luis de Góngora*, dedicated to the Duque de Olivares (1587-1645).⁷³ *El hijo pródigo* seems, therefore, to have been written in the fifth decade of the seventeenth century, and both the language and hand-writing point to that period. Middendorf copied the manuscript formerly owned by Dr. Mariano Macedo, but now in the possession of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. *El hijo pródigo* is one of many religious dramas composed in the indigenous languages of America to teach scriptural lessons to the Indians. The characters are chiefly allegorical, and there is more poetic imagery and a greater wealth of poetic diction than in *Ollanta* or *Usca Paucar*. But the *gracioso*, Body, indulges occasionally in coarse jests.

⁷¹ In the Preface, Middendorf says that there is another dramatic poem that he has not seen, *La muerte de Atahualpa*, which is a translation or adaptation of an uninteresting Spanish tragedy in five acts. Markham has also a MS. copy of a play by Juan de Espinosa Medrano, entitled *El pobre más rico*. The MS. was given him by Julián Ochoa, then rector of the University of Cuzco, in April, 1853. Markham kindly copied and sent a page of the play to the writer of this article. At the head of the page he writes: "Written by Dr. Lunarejo, a Quichua scholar of the 18th century," but he is mistaken as to the date (see below). The lines he sent are octosyllabic, with irregular rime.

⁷² Introduction, page 3.

⁷³ Middendorf says that this work appeared at Cuzco in 1662. An edition was published in Lima in 1694.

The following is a synopsis of the play:

Act I. A younger son, Christian, demands his share of the paternal estate, and leaves his Father and his home in order to see the world and know good and evil. He sets out accompanied by Body and Youth. They are tempted by World and his servants, Whirlwind and Foam, who bring them to Dame Flesh and her handmaidens, Miss Venal and Miss Rainbow. Christian and Body fall in love with Dame Flesh: the latter's love is physical, while Christian's is spiritual. Lads and maidens dance and sing. God's Word, an emissary from the Father, strives to save Christian, but is repulsed.

Act II. They gamble to the accompaniment of song. Christian loses all, even to Fear of God and Health, and Youth deserts him. All turn against him and Body, and drive them away in nakedness and poverty. God's Word comes again and pleads with Christian to return to his Father. A swine-herd demands food and pay of Fire-Tooth (the Devil), and refuses longer to drive his swine. He is cast out, and the starving Christian takes his place.

Act III. Enter Body who has been tossed in a blanket and otherwise ill treated by the retainers of Dame Flesh. In their hunger, Christian and Body eat clay. Again God's word urges Christian to return to his Father, and again Body resists. At last, Christian, with the aid of God's Word, binds Body on a cross, and all return to the father, who receives Christian with rejoicing and orders that the fatted swine (!) be killed.

The language of the play is characterized by a considerable number of words that are now obsolete in the spoken language (the proportion of obsolete words is larger than in *Ollanta* or *Usca Paucar*), and the orthography hesitates between the phonology of old Quechua and that of a later period. It has less than a half dozen words of Spanish origin (cf. *mesa*, *pintar*, *sollozar* (?), *vino*), if we except religious terms (cf. *ánima*, *Cristiano*, *Cristo*, *Dios*, *gracia*, *Jesús*, *Jueves Santo*). These words, perhaps a dozen in number, could scarcely be avoided in a religious drama written by a Roman Catholic priest.

The play is in 8-syllable lines, as a rule, but occasional lines are too long or too short by one or more syllables: e. g.,—9 syllables (20,⁷⁴ 250, 257); 10 syllables (346); 7 syllables (409); 6 syllables (167, 168, 241); 5 syllables (263, 214). Occasional broken lines occur at the beginning (106, 214), in the middle (53, 62), and at

⁷⁴ The number is that of the line in Middendorf's edition.

the end (29, 123, 154) of a speech. Such lines at the end of a speech are usually not completed in the following speech, but in a few cases they are so completed (78 f., 233 f.) There are more lines of irregular length and more broken lines than in the later dramas, *Usca Paucar* and *Ollanta*. There are some small groups of 6-syllable lines (663-666, 960-962). The alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is generally no more regular than in Spanish octosyllabic verse. In the song, verses 500-515, the lines are of 5 or 6 syllables + 5 or 6 syllables, with six *pies quebrados* of 5 or 6 syllables each, and the rhythmic movement is ternary, so that the verse closely resembles the Old Spanish *arte mayor*.⁷⁵ The rime throughout is assonance in alternate lines, but with not infrequent interposition of two or more blank lines, especially at the beginning of a scene and in rapid dialogue. In the song, verses 500-515, every line is assonated (á-a). Assonance occurs as follows: á-a, 753 lines; á-i, 404; í-i, 72; á-u, 9; ú-a, 8; á-a (every line), 16; none, or rare, 194;—total, 1456.

The second play in Middendorf's work is *Usca Paucar*, which is dedicated to our lady of Copacabana. The church of Copacabana stands on the rocky peninsula of the same name on the south side of Lake Titicaca. Before the advent of the Christians, Copacabana was a sanctuary, and the early missionaries built a Christian chapel there, as was their custom, for they endeavored to turn to account local traditions and religious usages whenever possible. The chapel was taken over by the Augustinians, who brought to it from Spain an old painting of the Virgin Mary, and the religious drama, *Usca Paucar*, is avowedly an exhortation to worship the Virgin. The author of the play is unknown. Middendorf's text is a copy of a manuscript in the possession of Dr. Leonardo Villar of Lima. Markham has also a manuscript copy,⁷⁶ and it is said that there are several copies extant in Cuzco.

The language and the versification indicate that the play is of

⁷⁵ Cf. Hills and Morley's *Modern Spanish Lyrics*, p. lxxv f.

⁷⁶ Markham's copy was given him by the Sub-Prefect of Paucartambo, in June, 1853. The first twelve lines, of which the writer of this article has a copy, differ considerably from the first lines of Middendorf's edition. Of the first eight lines in Markham's text, only four are found in Middendorf's; while two in Middendorf's text are lacking in Markham's. The rime-scheme of these lines is more regular in Markham's text.

more recent origin than *El hijo pródigo*, and that it and *Ollanta* were probably composed at about the same time,—that is, toward the middle of the eighteenth century. The play is poorly constructed and has little poetical merit. At the beginning it seems reminiscent of the Faust legend, but later on all resemblance disappears. As in *Ollanta*, the lovers do not meet alone on the stage.

The following is a synopsis of the play:

Act I. Usca ('Beggar') Paucar, of Inca blood but in poverty, bewails his fate. Quespillo (the *gracioso*) tries to cheer him but in vain. Yuncanina (Lucifer: in a green costume, over which he wears a black cloak, star-spangled⁷⁷) and four attendant spirits speak of their fall from heaven, and make plans to ensnare men. Their one fear is that mankind may be rescued by the Virgin Mary.

Act II. Usca Paucar and Quespillo, hungry and weary, lie down to sleep. The former is awakened by Yuncanina, who offers wealth and happiness if he will obey him and abjure allegiance to the Virgin Mary, throw away his rosary and never-more hear mass. The wretched Usca Paucar signs with his blood a written promise. At Usca Paucar's bidding, Quespillo smites a rock and much gold falls to the ground. An aged man, Choque Apu, urges his daughter, Ccoritica, to take a husband, but she holds men in scorn (a *Yarahui* is sung). Choque Apu receives Usca Paucar cordially but Ccoritica repulses him. Usca Paucar bewails his lot, but Yuncanina enters and promises him success in love (Song).

Act III. Yuncanina makes Ccoritica to fall in love with Usca Paucar, whom he presents, as his brother, to Choque Apu, and for whom he asks and obtains Ccoritica's hand (Dove song). When they are happily married, Yuncanina and the four spirits plan to separate them lest Ccoritica lead her husband to worship the Virgin Mary. Quespillo overhears them, and as they do not know that men are near, they appear as devils and are recognized as such by Quespillo, who tells Usca Paucar what he has seen and heard. They flee. Ccoritica and maidens appear, and they also flee. The devils pursue (there is much horse-play here). When the devils overtake first the men and then the women, both groups escape by calling on Jesus and the Virgin Mary. A procession of children passes by. With them walks an angel who bears aloft a banner with an image of the Virgin Mary. Usca Paucar and Quespillo fall on their knees before the image and pray for help. Ccoritica, with a cross in her hand, joins her husband. Yuncanina, in fury, casts the writing at Usca Paucar's feet and departs. The angel steps forward and urges all to worship the Virgin Mary.

⁷⁷ For illustrations of the devil in a black star-spangled cloak, see Cole's edition of the Mexican play, *Los pastores*.

There are in *Usca Paucar* few words of Spanish origin (cf. *asno*; *misi*, 'cat'), except such sacerdotal terms as *Adán*, *casar*, *cruz*, *Dios*, *Jesús*, *María*, *misa*, *rezar*, *rosario*, *Virgen*.

Like *El hijo pródigo* and *Ollanta*, *Usca Paucar* is in 8-syllable lines as a rule, with occasional lines too long or too short by one or more syllables: e. g.,—9 syllables (159,⁷⁸ 262, 280); 10 syllables (233); 7 syllables (236); 6 syllables (180, 181). The lyrical passage, verses 1534–1557, and verses 1627–1641, have alternating 8- and 5-syllable lines; and the lyrical monologue, verses 1366–1393, has regular 6-syllable lines. There are occasional broken lines at the beginning (776, 918) and at the end (29, 110, 701) of speeches. The latter are usually not completed in the following speech, but in a few cases are so completed (182 f., 1400 f.). There are fewer irregular lines and fewer broken lines than in *El hijo pródigo*, but about as many as in *Ollanta*.

As in *Ollanta*, the rime is regularly that of the Spanish *redondilla* (*a b b a*), with occasional rimed couplets (19–36, 1339–1365), *quintillas* (359–363, 450–454) and *décimas* (98–107, 777–786). In some *redondillas*, *quintillas* and *décimas* assonance replaces consonantal rime wholly or in part. Two or three consecutive blank lines (139–140) occur occasionally. In the lyrical passage with alternating lines of 8- and 5-syllables (1534–1557), there is no rime, and in the lyrical passage with 6-syllable lines (1366–1393), the rime is regularly *a b a b, c d c d*, etc. Assonance recurring regularly in alternate lines is not found, unless it be in verses 1717–1722. As a whole, the verses of *Usca Paucar* are remarkably similar to those of *Ollanta*.

It is interesting to compare the versification of these Quechua dramas with that of an old Easter play in the Spanish language found in New Mexico and Texas, and published by M. R. Cole under the title *Los Pastores* (Boston, 1907). Two versions are given which are similar in general outline but differ greatly in detail. One was secured at Rio Grande City, Texas, in 1891, by Captain John G. Bourke from an old cobbler. The other version is a copy, made by Miss Honora De Busk, of an old manuscript that she found in the possession of an aged Mexican at San Rafael, New Mexico, about twelve years ago. Most of the text was arranged as prose,

⁷⁸ The number is that of the line in Middendorf's edition.

and was put back into metrical form by Mr. Cole. In spite of ill treatment by copyists, the versification of the New-Mexican version is better preserved than that of the Texas version, and I have therefore selected the former for comparison with the Quechua texts.

The New-Mexican play is in 8-syllable lines, as a rule, but with many lines irregular in length. There are a considerable number of broken lines. Those occurring at the end of one speech are sometimes not completed in the following speech (212,⁷⁹ 225). There are some groups of 6-syllable lines, and one song (212) is written in lines of 7 + 5 syllables with ternary movement.⁸⁰ The rime used in the play is chiefly assonance in alternate lines, with occasional rimed couplets, *redondillas*, *quintillas* and *décimas*. In the *laisses* of assonated lines, two or more consecutive blank lines occur not infrequently, as in *El hijo pródigo*. In some *redondillas* and *quintillas*, assonance replaces consonantal rime wholly or in part,⁸¹ as in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar*. As in *Usca Paucar*, and to a less degree in *Ollanta*, series of rimed couplets occur. Thus, on pages 228 and 229, there are 53 rimed couplets (106 lines).

The defective versification of the plays we have examined may be due to one or more of several causes. The texts may have been altered by copyists. In some of the rapid dialogues, at least, it seems probable that during rehearsals words and phrases were freely added or cut out, and if this be so, it explains in part the difference in texts. The authors may have had little skill in writing verses. Parts of the plays almost certainly give evidence of crude workmanship, and this is not surprising since few Spanish priests in the colonies were true poets, and yet many undertook to compose or adapt *autos sacramentales* in both the Spanish and the Indian lan-

⁷⁹ The numbers are those of the pages in Cole's edition. The writer of this article has also in his possession a manuscript copy of the copy made by Miss De Busk.

⁸⁰ Note similar songs in *El hijo pródigo* and *Ollanta*.

⁸¹ Ella (allá ?) me voy a bestir,
y a seguir la luz que veo,
porque ciertamente creo
que esta noche es de festin (page 222).

No sabemos en certesa
en que tiempo, ni en que día,
se cumplen las profecias
de aquellos grandes profectas (page 218).

guages.⁸² The result may have been effective in teaching the Christian doctrine to natives, but it had little poetic value.

In the older Spanish *autos sacramentales* the commonest strophic arrangement was the *quintilla*, which yielded little by little to the *romance*-verse, the *redondilla*, and lastly the *décima*, until it came to hold third place (cf. Calderon's *autos*). In the colonial *autos* of the seventeenth and eighteenth century that we possess, the *quintilla* has third place in point of numbers as in Spain during the same period, and this is also true of the three Quechua plays that we have examined. The *auto sacramental*, as the name implies, is in one act, and the Mexican *Los pastores* is thus arranged. But, curiously, both *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar* are divided into three acts. In both plays the division into acts seems forced, as it does not conform to a logical division into parts. It seems probable that these plays were divided into acts by analogy with the secular drama, either by the authors or by copyists. In length they exceed the old Spanish *autos*; but they do not exceed those of Lope and Calderon, nor the Mexican *Los pastores*. Now in the number of lines, in the illogical division into acts,⁸³ and in the versification, *Ollanta* closely resembles the religious dramas, *El hijo pródigo* and *Usca Paucar*. Moreover, in the number of lines, in the versification, and in the general lack of poetic worth, the three resemble the Mexican *Los pastores*. All seem to be the product of the crude workmanship of Spanish missionaries or their disciples. And, although *Ollanta* is presumably a secular play, it also teaches an important element of the Christian doctrine: "Love your enemies."

Let us return to those peculiarities of the versification of *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar* that are not common to the Spanish drama. The absence of *romance*-verse is unimportant. In some secular plays the *romance*-verse plays a minor part,⁸⁴ and in the older *autos sa-*

⁸² In the Texas version of *Los pastores*, Mr. Cole found passages taken bodily from older Spanish *autos*; but, on the other hand, words of Mexican origin are not infrequent (cf. *tamales*, as a rime-word, in a *redondilla* in the New-Mexican version).

⁸³ Although in Pacheco Zegarra's edition of *Ollanta* there is no division into acts, both the Pedro Zegarra text (cf. page cxxiv of Pacheco Zegarra's edition) and the Tschudi text are so divided, as well as the Markham text. Pacheco Zegarra omitted the division into acts, gave consecutive numbers to scenes throughout, and furthermore made subdivisions that he entitled "dialogues."

⁸⁴ In the dramas of Tirso de Molina only about one-fourth of the lines are

cramentales it was not used at all. There are fewer rimed couplets of octosyllabic lines in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar* than in *Los pastores*. In fact many of the rimed couplets in these plays may well be fragments of *redondillas*, *quintillas*, or *décimas*, and some evidently are so. Rimed couplets, however, were used in Spain in religious compositions. In the *Arte poética española*, by Juan Díaz Rengifo (edition of 1724), Cap. XXII, page 29, the author says: "Esta poesía de versos Pareados, ó Parejas, en verso de Redondilla mayor, tiene su consonancia de dos en dos versos." He cites the following lines from Ledesma, *Conceptos Espirituales á las lágrimas que Christo N. Señor vertió en la Cruz, segunda parte*:

Las lágrimas de muger
Por mil cosas pueden ser:
Mas lágrimas de varon
O son zelos, o aficion.

And in both religious and secular dramas rimed couplets in mingled verses of 11 and 7 syllables were not rare.⁸⁵ The blank lines scattered among the *redondillas*, *quintillas*, and *décimas*, often seem to be fragments also of broken strophes. Thus, in *Ollanta*, in verses 1398-1430, there is a series of nine *redondillas* three of which lack one line each. And, in verses 112-245, there are at least nine *décimas* three of which also lack one line each. These missing lines may cause the appearance of stray blank lines and rimed couplets. The use of assonance in the rimed strophes instead of consonantal rime is indefensible and points to lack of skill in writing verses; but we have seen that this also occurs in *Los pastores*. The occurrence of broken lines in all the plays we have examined may indicate corruption of the texts, or, possibly, they may be in imitation of the 4-syllable line not seldom interposed among 8-syllable lines in the older religious dramatic compositions.⁸⁶

The three Quechua plays that we have examined are written in Spanish verse-forms. What, then, was the prosody,—if there was in *romance*-verse, and the rest are in *redondillas*, *quintillas*, etc. Cf. S. G. Morley, *El uso de las combinaciones métricas en las comedias de Tirso de Molina*, *Bulletin hispanique*, XVI, p. 177 f.

⁸⁵ Cf. Calderón, *La primer flor del Carmelo*, Sc. 12 f.; *No hay burlas con el amor*, II, 12 f.; Moreto, *La gran casa de Austria y divina Margarita*, Sc. 1.

⁸⁶ Cf. *Autos sacramentales* (in *Biblioteca de autores españoles*), pp. 126, 133, 143.

such,—of the ancient indigenous poetry of Peru? Garcilaso says:⁸⁷

"... supieron hazer versos cortos, y largos con medida de silabas: En ellos ponian sus cantares amorosos con tonadas diferentes, como se ha dicho. Tambien componian en verso las hazañas de sus Reyes, y de otros famosos Incas, y Curacas principales, y los enseñauan a sus descendientes por tradicion, para que se acordassen de los buenos hechos de sus passados, y los imitassen; los versos eran pocos porque la memoria los guardasse, empero muy compendiosos como cifras. No vsaron de consonante en los versos, todos eran sueltos. Por la mayor parte semejaun a la natural composura Española, que llaman redondillas."

And he quotes from memory this song:

Caylla llapi
Puñunqui
Chauptuta
Samusac

Al cantico
Dormirás;
Media noche
Yo vendré.

In the same chapter, he adds:

"En los papeles del padre Blas Valera hallé otros versos, que el llama spondaicos, todos son de a quatro silabas . . . Escriuelos en Yndio y en latin . . . Dizen que vn Inca poeta, y astrologo hizo, y dixo los versos . . . La fabula, y los versos dize el Padre Blas Valera, que halló en los ñudos y cuentas de vnos anales antiguos, que estauan en hilos de diuersas colores, y que la tradicion de los versos, y de la fabula se la dixeran los Yndios contadores, que tenían cargo de los ñudos y cuentas historiales, y que admirado de que los Amautas huuiessen alcançado tanto, escriuió los versos, y los tomó de memoria para dar cuenta dellos."

" Sumac Ñusta	Pulchra Nimpha	Hermosa donzella
Torallayquim	Frater tuus	Aquese tu hermano ⁸⁸
Puyñuy quita	Vrnam tuam	El tu cantarillo
Paquir cayan	Nunc infringit	Lo esta quebrantando,
Hina mantara	Cuius ictus	Y de aquesta causa
Cunufunun	Tonat fulget	Truena y relampaguea
Ylla pantac	Fulminatque	Tambien cayen rayos.
Camri Ñusta	Sed tu Ninpha	Tu real donzella
vnuy quita	Tuam limpham	Tus muy lindas aguas
Para munqui	Fundens pluis	Nos darás lloviendo
May ñimpiri	Interdumque	Tambien a las vezes
Chichi munqui	Grandinem, seu	Granizar nos has

⁸⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 27.

Riti munqui	Niuem mittis	Neuaras assi mesmo.
Pacha rurac	Mundi factor	El hazedor del mundo
Pacha camac	Pacha camac,	El Dios que le anima
Vira cocha	Vira cocha	El Gran Vira cocha
Cay hinapac	Ad hoc munus	Para aqueste oficio
Churasunqui	Te sufficit	Ya te colocaron
Camasunqui. ⁸⁹	Ac prae fecit.	Y te dieron alma."

Now, it will be observed that these verses bear no resemblance whatever to the Spanish *redondilla* in the modern meaning of the word. They have no rime except the occasional repetition of a suffix. Garcilaso's statement that the old Quechua verses did not have rime, and that they resembled the Spanish *redondilla*, seems, therefore, a contradiction in terms; but an examination of old works on Spanish prosody throws light on the problem. Rengifo⁹⁰ uses the term *verso de redondilla* to denote any line of 8 or fewer syllables. Thus:

"El verso de Redondilla mayor se compone de ocho syllabas" (page 15); "versos Pareados, ò Parejas, en verso de Redondilla mayor" (page 29); "tercetos con verso de Redondilla mayor" (page 30); "De la Copla Redondilla, ò Quintilla, . . . se llama Redondilla, porque se canta en los corros donde baylan . . . Compònense de cinco versos" (page 32); "La Redondilla de seys versos que podrán llamarse Sextillas del número de los versos (como la Quarteta y Quintilla)" (page 33); "No hay cosa mas facil, que hazer un Romance, ni cosa mas dificultosa, si ha de ser qual conviene. Lo que causa la facilidad es la composicion del Metro, que todo es de una Redondilla multiplicada" (page 59); "Todos estos generos de Redondillas, ora Simples, ora Dobladas, ò Mistras, ora Dezimas, son muy à propòsito para dezir en ellas agudos conceptos, y para componer Comedias, Loas, y Dialogos" (page 39).

And Sarmiento⁹¹ says of *redondillos*:

⁸⁸ Garcilaso says that he made the Spanish translation directly from the Quechua.

⁸⁹ According to Middendorf (*Ollanta Drama*, p. 57 f.), all the lines should be written as one word, except the 1st, 8th, 14th, 15th and 17th. He also corrects 'hinamantara' to 'hinamantas.'

⁹⁰ Cf. *op. cit.*

⁹¹ *Obras posthumas del Rmo P. M. Fr. Martin Sarmiento Benedictino, Memorias para la historia de la poesia y poetas españoles, tomo I, Madrid, 1775* (but apparently written about 1745).

"Procuraré decir algo de las cuatro principales diferencias de metros, que son Redondillos, Franceses ó Alexandrinos, de Arte mayor, y Hendecasylabos ó de Sonetos" (§ 395); "En esta Octava significa Redondillo todo genero de verso, ó pie, que no tiene mas de ocho syllabas; y así el verso comunísimo de ocho syllabas es Redondillo mayor, y menor el de seis" (§ 396); "Los Redondillos, así mayores como menores, son la basa de todos los metros castellanos . . . con particularidad el de ocho syllabas es el mas famoso, mas antiguo, mas natural, y mas comun" (§ 398); "Parece claro . . . que no hay redondillo, sea de ocho syllabas, de siete, de seis, de cinco, ó de quatro . . . que no tenga su origen visible en nuestros Refranes Castellanos" (§ 415).

Note that Sarmiento generally uses *verso redondillo* instead of *verso de redondilla*.

It is clear that in the time of Garcilasó the term *verso de redondilla* merely meant any line of 8 or fewer syllables. The quatrain that is now known as *redondilla* Rengifo calls "*quarteta*." When, therefore, Garcilaso speaks of rimeless verses that resemble the Spanish *redondilla*, he means short verses as distinguished from those used in the old Alexandrine, the *Arte mayor*, and the Italian hendecasyllable.

In 1908 Dr. Richard Pietschmann, librarian of the University of Göttingen, discovered in the Royal Library of Copenhagen a manuscript copy of an old Peruvian chronicle entitled *El primer nueva coronica y buen gobierno, por Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala*, which apparently dates from 1613. The author, according to his own statement, was a descendant of the Incas. The work has valuable pen and ink drawings, and in this respect it is unique. It is written in incorrect Spanish intermixed with Quechua words. Dr. Pietschmann is preparing this work for publication, and in the meantime he has published two articles on the subject: *Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno des Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, eine peruanische Bilderhandschrift* (in *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse, Heft 6*, Berlin, 1908), and (in English) *Some Account of the Illustrated Chronicle by the Peruvian Indian, Dr. Felipe Huaman Poma de Ayala* (in *Proceedings of the XVIII. International Congress of Americanists*, page 510 f.).

In these articles Dr. Pietschmann gives nine lyrics in the Quechua

language that he found in the chronicle. He has arranged them in verse-lines, but "in the original the songs are written without separation of words or division into lines."⁹² As arranged by Dr. Pietschmann, the lines are irregular in length, except in two of the lyrics: in one of these there are two lines of 12 syllables followed by a cry or call; in the other there are alternate lines of 7 and 9 syllables.⁹³ In nearly all the lyrics regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables is much more marked than in *Ollanta*. The age of these lyrics is not known. Two contain Spanish words: *Dios*, *ciño* (= señor), *rosa*. Dr. Pietschmann considers that the two following show little or no Spanish influence:

yaya condor apauay
tura guaman pusauay
mamallayman uillapuuay
nam pisca punchau
mana micosca
mana upyasca
yaya cachapuric
quilcaapac chasquipuric
cimillayta soncollayta apapullauay
yayallayman mamallayman uillapullauay.⁹⁴

And:

Aucap umanuan upyason,
quironta ualcarisun,
tullunuan pincullusun,

⁹² Quoted from a letter by Dr. Pietschmann to the writer of this article. In this letter Dr. Pietschmann kindly gave the remaining lines of the song entitled *haray harau*.

⁹³ mana tarushca richo
maquillayquip uaucuycaconqui
mana luycho amicho
cincallayquip uaucuycaconqui
ua yayay turilla
ua yayay turilla.

⁹⁴ "Father Condor, take me away; Brother Falcon, bring me away; announce me to my dear mother. For five days already I have not eaten nor drunk a drop. Father Bringer-of-News, Bearer-of-a-Message-stick, Courier, please take away my mouth, my heart. Please announce me to my dear father and my dear mother." These are supposed to be the words of a woman caught in adultery, and bound by her hair to a lofty crag where she is left to die.

caranpi tinyacusun,
taquecusun.⁹⁵

In several of the lyrics, as the lines have been arranged by Dr. Pietschmann, there is rime due to repetition of words or suffixes; but the rime is incidental. There is nowhere any definite rime-scheme⁹⁶ corresponding to the Spanish *quintilla*, *redondilla*, *rimed couplets*, *romance-verse*, etc.

Dr. Rodolfo Lenz,⁹⁷ professor in the Instituto Pedagógico de Santiago de Chile, in a recent letter to the writer of this article, says: "Rimed verses with regular syllable counting can not be Indian. Real aboriginal poetry of America has quite a different character. A certain rhythm may exist." He adds: "There is not the least doubt for me that all the Quechua poetry gathered and published up to date is spurious, made by *criollos* according to Spanish models. I have not yet seen one line of Quechua that is pure Indian literature. The only book in which there are perhaps some pieces of Quechua literature that have undergone only little Spanish influence is *Tarmapap Pacha-Huaraynin. Azucenas Quechuas. Por unos Parias*. Tarma, 1905.⁹⁸ There are some prose fables in it that, except the *moraleja*, seem to be of Indian origin. On page 92 there is a *canción de despedida* that runs as follows:

Uchucachi manatsh cananka rikashaichu!
Uchucachi manatsh cananka malishiaychu!
Uchucachi manatsh micuinita mishquichiniquichu!

⁹⁵ "The traitor's skull, we shall drink out of it; his teeth we shall wear as a necklace; from his bones we shall make flutes to play on; on his skin we shall beat the drum; we shall perform our dance." This ferocious song is evidently a threat to traitors.

⁹⁶ Except perhaps in the lyric given in a preceding footnote. This probably shows Spanish influence.

⁹⁷ Author of *Chilenische Studien*, Marburg, 1892-1893; *Cantos araucanos en Moluche i Pehuenche chileno con Introducción sobre la poesía araucana*, in *Anales de la Universidad de Chile*, tomo XCVII, Santiago de Chile, 1897; *Diccionario etimológico de las voces chilenas derivadas de lenguas indígenas americanas*, Santiago de Chile, 1905-1910; *et al.*

⁹⁸ There is a copy of this work in the library of The Hispanic Society, New York City.

Uchucachi mircapatchi yarparacushunqui!
 Uchucachi, ayhualá! ayhualarac!!⁹⁹

There is only a rime caused by two equal verbal forms, and no regular number of syllables."

In his *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen der Keshua-Sprache*, Middendorf gives three collections of lyrics in the Quechua language. The first consists of *Romances de la pasión de Nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo*, which he found in an old volume entitled *Directorio espiritual en la lengua Española y quichua, general del Inca, compuesto por el Padre Pablo de Prado*, Lima, 1660. These Christian "romances" are nine in number. Seven are in octosyllabic verses: five with assonance in alternate lines, one in redondillas, and one in crude assonating redondillas. One "romance" is in 5-syllable lines, arranged in quatrains. In 33 quatrains, out of 63, two lines have consonantal rime, due chiefly to the repetition of verbal suffixes. Curiously, every quatrain ends in -i. And one "romance" is in stanzas of six lines of 6 syllables and one line of 9 syllables, with traces of crude assonance. In most of these "romances," there are many lines irregular in length.

The second collection consists of sacred songs, some of which Middendorf collected here and there in his travels, and some he found in a volume entitled *Antología sagrada en Español, Quichua y Aymarí, por el cura C. F. B.*, Oruro, 1889. The Quechua songs are in the present-day speech of Upper Peru, though some may be old. They are eleven in number. Eight are in octosyllabic verses: five in quatrains with consonantal rime of the second and fourth lines, one in redondillas, one in stanzas of six lines with the rime-scheme—a—a b b, and one in quatrains with rime of the second and fourth lines or with all lines blank. Two songs are in 6-syllable lines, in quatrains, and, as a rule, with consonantal rime of the second and fourth lines,¹⁰⁰ and one is in alternating lines of 6 and

⁹⁹ Uchucachi (name of a dog), ya no volveré á verte!

Uchucachi, ya no te probaré!

Uchucachi, no condimentarás mi comida!

Uchucachi, te extrañará mi fiambre!

Uchucachi, adiós, adiós para siempre!!

(Translation of the author.)

¹⁰⁰ The eleventh song illustrates a peculiarity of Spanish-Quechua prosody that is often to be observed. Thus, consonantal rime sometimes appears in such

5 syllables, mostly blank. Most of the lyrics in these two collections are good examples of "idioma indígena y arte poético europeo."¹⁰¹ They contain almost no words of Spanish origin, except some sacerdotal terms, but the versification shows Spanish influence.

The third collection of lyrics in the volume consists, according to Middendorf's classification, of *yarahuis*,¹⁰² longer poems, and elegies. The lyrics in this collection are fifty-two in number. Of these, thirty-six have no rime;¹⁰³ nine have irregular or occasional rime, three are arranged in quatrains with consonantal rime of the second and fourth lines, two have complicated rime-schemes,¹⁰⁴ one has assonance in alternate lines, and one has assonated *redondillas*. Twenty lyrics are in 8-syllable lines, one has alternate lines of 8 or 9 and 5 syllables (with ternary movement), one has two lines of 8 to 10 syllables followed by one of 5 syllables, six have 6-syllable lines, one has lines of 5 or 6 syllables, ten have 5-syllable lines (with ternary movement), one has alternating 5- and 3-syllable lines, one has two lines of 5 syllables followed by one of 3 syllables, two have alternating lines of 5 + 5 and 3 syllables, and in nine the lines are quite irregular in length. In the verses with counted syllables, many lines are too long or too short. In some of the shorter unrimed *yarahuis* the alternation of stressed and uncrude forms as: *-aspa*, *-ispa*; *-achun*, *-uchun*; etc. This is not rare in *Ollanta* and *Usca Paucar*.

¹⁰¹ Francisco Pimentel (*Historia crítica de la poesía en México*,—Mex., 1892,—p. 124) says: "... de la poesía indo-hispana diremos que se compuso de dos elementos: generalmente un idioma indígena y arte poético europeo."

¹⁰² Or *yaravi*. Middendorf says (p. 220): "The *yarahui* was the oldest form of Peruvian poetry. The word is derived from the verb *yarahuíy* or '*harahuíy*, 'to tell or invent tales,' and those members of the learned society of the Amautas to whom was entrusted the cultivation of poetic art, that is, the composition of poems and their preservation in memory by the aid of the *quipus*, were called '*harahuécs*. Originally all poems, even those of historic content, were called *yarahuis*. Now only love-songs are known by this name." This last fact seems due to the disappearance of all old *yarahuis* except short love-songs.

¹⁰³ One of these without rime was written in 1834 and is of historic content. The lines are irregular in length.

¹⁰⁴ One, no. 41, is a long modern poem of 200 lines, in stanzas with the rime-scheme a b b c a d d c. The lines are octosyllabic.

stressed syllables is noticeably regular.¹⁰⁵ There are few words of Spanish origin,¹⁰⁶ but the ideas are sometimes Spanish or European.

In the *Antología ecuatoriana, Cantares del pueblo ecuatoriano, compilación formada por Juan León Mera* (Quito, 1892), there are four "popular" lyrics in the Quechua dialect of Ecuador. Two, in octosyllabic lines, are arranged in quatrains, with consonantal rime or assonance in the second and fourth lines; one is in 5-syllable lines, with irregular á-i assonance and occasional consonantal rime; and one has, in each stanza, four lines of 8 syllables, two of 4 syllables, and one of 8, with the rime-scheme—a—a c c c. The volume contains also two Quechua lyrics by Dr. Luis Cordero. These are in octosyllabics, with assonance in alternate lines (á-a in one and ú-a in the other). The work contains also some short lyrics with alternate lines of Spanish and Quechua or with Spanish and Quechua words mingled irregularly. Several prosodic arrangements common to Spanish verses appear in these lyrics. In one song a Spanish word rimes with a Quechua word.¹⁰⁷

Tschudi¹⁰⁸ quotes eight lines from a Quechua song, said to be

¹⁰⁵ Thus, in no. 10:

Pucu-pucuc quesampichus
mamallay-cca huachahuarccan,
cunan hina musphanaypac
llapa runac muchuchisccan,
mana picpa cchuyacunan
tampi-tampi purinaypac . . .

Middendorf says that this song is very popular. One wonders whether some of the lyrics in this collection should be arranged in lines at all. There are certainly some of the unrimed that could be arranged equally well in lines of almost any length.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Dios, paloma, ni—ni*.

¹⁰⁷ León Mera says (*Op. cit.*, page vi): "Va desapareciendo la manera híbrida usada antiguamente por nuestro pueblo, que alternaba en sus cuartetos versos españoles y quechuas." He cites the following as an example of such verses:

Cuando estuve enamorado,
Shunguhuan huacarcanimi;
Ahora que te he olvidado,
Shunguhuan asicunimi.

The Quechua words mean:

Con el corazón lloraba.
Con el corazón me río.

Note that all (both Quechua and Spanish) lines are octosyllabic.

¹⁰⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 201-202.

"popular," which a Herr von Bock found in Bolivia. They are in quatrains of octosyllabics, with consonantal rime of the second and fourth lines of each quatrain. Sir Clements R. Markham, in a letter¹⁰⁰ to the writer of this article, says: "I have twenty songs which were in the same manuscript from which I copied *Ollanta* at Laris, but they are not ancient"; and he adds: "My impression is that in the earliest songs rhyme was not used, or was merely accidental: certainly rhymes occur occasionally, but no trouble appears to have been taken to make them continuous."

The distinguished Peruvian musician, Don Daniel Alomía Robles, has recently traveled extensively among the Indians of Upper Peru and has made a collection of their songs with musical notation. At a meeting held in Lima, February 21, 1910, several musicians read articles and played and sang the songs collected by Señor Alomía Robles.¹¹⁰ Don Alberto Villalba Muñoz, in his address, stated that the primitive musical scale of the Indians of the Sierra has but five notes, and said further: "Las melodías antiguas son generalmente de ritmo libre. El compás es un regulador moderno." Don Felipe Barreda y Laos said, in part: "En la época colonial, la música indígena sufre notablemente la influencia española . . . La religión católica, impuesta á los vencidos, impresionó profundamente el alma indígena, y reflejó su influencia en el arte; se compusieron canciones religiosas y pastoriles, que se bailaban en la pascua de navidad, muy semejantes á los villancicos españoles."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁰ Dated July 10, 1913.

¹¹⁰ An account of the session is given in a pamphlet entitled *Conferencia literario-musical dada en el salón de actuaciones ante S. E. el presidente de la República el 21 de febrero de 1910*, Lima, 1910. In a letter to *La Prensa* of Buenos Aires, dated May 3, 1913, Señor Alomía Robles says that he has collected "143 aires ó melodías, desarrolladas estrictamente dentro de la gama incaica con su letra en quechua . . . Á estos aires debo agregar los 167 que yo he clasificado de coloniales por desarrollarse en la gama moderna."

¹¹¹ Garcilaso says: "Quando yo sali del Peru, que fue el año de mil y quinientos y sesenta dexe en el Cozco cinco Yndios que tañian flautas diestrissimamente por qual quiera libro de canto de organo, que les pusiessen delante, eran de Iuan Rodriguez de Villa Lobos, vezino que fue de aquella ciudad. En estos tiempos que es ya el año de mil y seyscientos y dos me dizen que ay tantos Yndios tan diestros en musica para tañer instrumentos que donde quiera se hallan muchos." (*Op. cit.*, II, 26.) And: "Dizen me, que en estos tiempos se dan mucho los Mestizos a componer en Yndio estos versos, y otros de muchas maneras, assi a lo diuino como a lo humano." (*Op. cit.*, II, 27.)

And: "La influencia española se ha dejado sentir en los bailes indígenas, principalmente, en el de los *negritos* y los *diablos* que se bailan en la Sierra . . . La guitarra, el arpa, la bandurria, el violín, son usados con toda frecuencia en la Sierra . . . El yaraví antiguo ha dado origen á los *tristes* de nuestros días, que conservan el fondo indígena, y que son de una melancolía que armoniza con su nombre: hay en ellos elementos de música española." Through the courtesy of Don Ricardo Palma, four of the lyrics collected in the Sierra by Señor Alomía Robles were sent to the writer of this article. In these lyrics there is no rime except that caused by a rare repetition of a word or a suffix. As arranged by the collector, one is in 6-syllable lines, one in 4-syllable lines, one in lines of 6 or 7 syllables, and the last in lines of 4, 5, or 6 syllables. The second and fourth, in the nearly regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables, resemble the longer lyric given by Garcilaso.

What, then, is the prosody, if it may be called such, of aboriginal Quechua poetry? In the first place, there is no rime; but neither did Greek and Latin verses have rime. The syllables were usually not counted; but the counting of syllables is peculiar to modern Romance verse, and much poetry has been composed the world over without it. The fact is that Quechua prosody is most primitive: there may be a certain rhythm due to the alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables which may, or may not, be broken occasionally by a ternary "foot," and that is all. Quechua poetry was composed to be sung, and some of the songs have regular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables throughout, which may indicate that they were sung to the accompaniment of dancing, or marching, or manual labor. In others, and especially in love-songs, the succession of stresses is less regular, and it is probably these to which Señor Villalba Muñoz refers when he speaks of "free rhythm," by which he may mean that they are sung without the definite rhythm of modern European music.* There is no trace of any aboriginal

* Miss Alice C. Fletcher, in *The Hako: A Pawnee Ceremony* (in *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 2*, Washington, 1904), says of songs sung by the Pawnee Indians: "The unit of time is marked by pulsations of the voice or by drum beats, and the words are found bent by elisions or stretched by added vocables to make them conform to the musical measure" (p. 282);—thus in the song given on page 245, the words *we ra ti ka riki* ('now is he within standing') are sung: *ho-o-o! we ra ti ka riki ra*

verses in *Ollanta*. Barranca and others have held that *Ollanta* contains fragments of ancient Quechua poetry. If this be true, the "fragments" have been worked over and put into Spanish verse-forms.

III

Tschudi and Pacheco Zegarra hold that *Ollanta* was reduced to writing in the sixteenth century, after the pacification of the country; but Middendorf showed conclusively that none of the known texts could be of earlier date than the eighteenth century. Markham maintains that *Ollanta* was handed down by oral tradition till the second half of the eighteenth century, when it was reduced to writing. As we have seen, there is no record of the existence of the play before it was produced by Dr. Valdés of Tinta. No one can say positively that it was not thus handed down by word of mouth during a space of two hundred and fifty years; but, on the other hand, there is no evidence that it was. It seems scarcely conceivable that a play such as *Ollanta* should have been transmitted orally during so long a period. If it were a great national epic or an exalted religious poem, it might have been thus preserved; but *Ollanta*, at the best, is a mediocre secular drama of intrigue, somewhat incoherent and often frivolous.¹¹²

riki hi! Excellent examples of the interposition of meaningless syllables in songs are given by Professor Franz Boas in *The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians* (in *Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895*, Washington, 1897, p. 665 f. And Miss Frances Densmore, in her work on *Chippewa Music*, II (in *Bulletin 53 of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Washington, 1913), says: "The words of Chippewa songs are frequently changed to conform to the music, syllables being omitted or added, and meaningless syllables introduced" (p. 2). She also says that "the rhytm of the first measure is rarely continued throughout the song . . . The transcriptions show in many instances a change of time with almost every measure" (p. 9).

Now, if these phenomena are found in the aboriginal songs of South America, the words of a song may not indicate the number of syllables that were sung or what the syllables were.

¹¹² To illustrate the frivolous nature of much of *Ollanta*, the opening words of the first act are given:

Ollanta. Piqui-Chaqui, did you see the charming Cusi-Coyllur at her home? Piqui-Chaqui. May the Sun-God forbid my going there. Are you not frightened! at the thought that she is the king's daughter?

Ollanta. Even if she is, I shall love this tender dove. It is my desire to shelter her alone in my heart.

Piqui-Chaqui. The Devil has made you mad, or you are losing your head.

The language of the texts is that of the eighteenth century.¹¹³ If *Ollanta* was composed at this time, or if it was handed down by oral tradition during a space of more than two hundred years, in either case we should expect to find a considerable number of Hispanicisms; but there are, in fact, very few. If the play was first composed in the eighteenth century, its author evidently took pains to avoid words of Spanish origin that have crept into modern Quechua, and to do this so successfully he must have been a scholar who recognized Spanish words in Quechua dress when he saw them. It is probable that, under the conditions that have prevailed in Peru, if a Quechua drama should come down through two centuries in the mouths of the people, more Hispanicisms would creep in than would appear if the play were later written by one who consciously sought to avoid them.¹¹⁴ In this connection it is noteworthy that there are no more Hispanicisms in *El hijo pródigo* or *Usca Paucar* than in *Ollanta*, if we except the sacerdotal terms in those religious dramas.

The following Hispanicisms have been noted in *Ollanta*:

In Tschudi's text, verses 261-266, occurs a passage, of which the following is a translation:

There are girls everywhere. You are too much involved now. Some day the king will hear of your plans; he will have your head cut off, and will throw you into the fire.

Ollanta. Do not discourage me, or I shall strangle you on the spot. Do not speak to me about that again, or I will tear you to pieces.

Piqui-Chaqui. Well, drag me along like a dead dog, but do not say to me every year and day and night: "Go, Piqui-Chaqui, look for her" (Literal translation of Middendorf's version).

Would such words as these have been preserved intact for two hundred and fifty years by word of mouth!

¹¹³ Middendorf (*Ollanta Drama*, p. 109) says that the Tschudi and Markham texts are in the dialect now spoken in the neighborhood of Cuzco. Dr. Pietschmann, in a recent letter to the writer of this article, calls attention to the word *cachapuric* in the lyric beginning *yaya condor* (found in Huaman Poma's chronicle). The word has there the old meaning of 'bearer of a message,' while in *Ollanta*, verse 74, it has the modern meaning of a 'go-between' or 'pander.'

¹¹⁴ So far as the language is concerned, it is not impossible that *Ollanta* was reduced to writing soon after the conquest, and that successive copyists changed older for newer forms and introduced the few Hispanicisms. But there is no evidence in favor of this theory, and none of the partisans of the antiquity of *Ollanta* has suggested it, so far as I know. Certainly no manuscript older than the eighteenth century has been published, nor has mention of any such been made.

"Piqui-Chaqui. I had fallen asleep, and I dreamed a dream of ill omen.

Ollanta. Of what?

Piqui-Chaqui. Of an ass tied fast.

Ollanta. It was you yourself.

Piqui-Chaqui. That is why my ears have grown so long."

The line in which the word for "ass" is found runs as follows:

Huc asnuta huatascata.¹¹⁵

In the place of *asnuta*, Markham's text has *atoccta*, 'fox,' and an additional line that runs: "therefore my nose scents better." The "Bolivian" manuscript has *llamata*, 'llama,' which Tschudi adopts in his second edition. Pacheco Zegarra adopts the word for 'fox': Middendorf retains that of 'ass,' which certainly keeps better the point of the joke.

Verses 560-562 of Tschudi's text read, in translation: "Piqui-Chaqui (who has been searching through a deserted house),—I found everything quiet. I looked everywhere: not even a cat was there." The form of the word expressing 'cat' is here *misillapas* < *misí*. Garcilasso,¹¹⁶ speaking of cats, says: "Los Yndios los llaman micitu, porque oyeron dezir á los Españoles miz, miz, quando los llara.uan." Markham's text has *allcollapas*, 'dog,' which Tschudi accepts for his second edition with this naive statement of his reasons for doing so: "because the ancient Peruvians did not have house-cats."¹¹⁷ Middendorf retains the word for 'cat,' since, he says,¹¹⁸ cats, and not dogs, might be found in a deserted house.

In Tschudi's (v. 1304) and Markham's texts occurs a derivative of the word meaning 'to marry,' *casaracurccani* < Spanish *casar*, which came into common use after the conquest. The "Bolivian" manuscript has *ccascanaccurccani*, 'to unite,' which Tschudi adopted in his second edition.

In many verses of all three texts occurs the exclamation ay! (Tschudi, v. 523), which is probably of Spanish origin.

Middendorf¹¹⁹ calls attention to Spanish idioms that have been adopted by Quechua, and which appear in the texts of *Ollanta*,

¹¹⁵ *Asnuta* is the accusative case of *asnu* < Span. *asno*.

¹¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, IX, 20.

¹¹⁷ They did have dogs.

¹¹⁸ *Ollanta Drama*, p. 140.

¹¹⁹ *Ollanta Drama*, p. 143.

such as the literal equivalents of *dar gusto*, *ser cuchillo de alguno*, *no hay remedio*, *voy muerto*, etc.

The number of references in *Ollanta* to things or ideas of Spanish, or at least of European, origin is somewhat larger than the number of Spanish words. Thus, in Tschudi, verses 15-17 say: "Some day the Inca will learn of your intentions, and he will have your head cut off." Middendorf says decapitation was probably not known to the ancient Peruvians: that it is even doubtful if they had any instrument which could serve this purpose.¹²⁰

In Tschudi, v. 30, occurs the well known expression: "death with his" (or "her") scythe."

In the "Song of the Unknown" much is made of the pink and white complexion of the lady,¹²¹ although such a complexion is unknown among the dusky Indian maidens. Dr. Pietschman¹²² says that *siclla*, the name of a blue flower, is used as an appellation of a maiden.

In one of the dialogues we read:

"Piqui-Chaqui. You give freely to all, and with me alone you are niggardly.

Ollanta. Why do you wish anything?

Piqui-Chaqui. Why? For this and for that. To offer clothes to others; that others may see that I have silver,¹²³ and respect me." All authorities agree that the ancient Peruvians did not use gold or silver as money.¹²⁴

Rumiñahui says that all Cuzco mourns the death of Pachacutic, and "all are dressed in black."¹²⁵ Now, gray, and not black, was the color distinctive of mourning in ancient Peru. Cf. Garcila-

¹²⁰ But Cieza de León, *op. cit.*, 2a parte, mentions decapitation. Cf. chapters XXVI and LXIV. And Huaman Poma gives a picture of a kind of halberd or battle-axe of copper, with a long handle. See Dr. Pietschmann's article in English on Huaman Poma's chronicle.

¹²¹ Cf.: "the white of her beautiful ear"; "the *achancarai*" (a red flower) "blooms on her face in the midst of snow"; "white alternates with red"; "her soft neck is as white as snow."

¹²² Cf. article in English on Huaman Poma's chronicle.

¹²³ Tschudi, v. 661. Pacheco Zegarra translates the last clause: "Je voudrais sonner mon argent: ça donne de la considération."

¹²⁴ Cf. Garcilaso, *op. cit.*, V, 7; and VI, 1 and 2.

¹²⁵ Tschudi, v. 1064.

so.¹²⁶ "los Reyes lo mas del tiempo vestian de negro, y el de luto dellos era el vellori, color pardo que llaman."

In Tschudi, v. 1287, we read: "... bound with these iron chains." The ancient Peruvians did not use iron.¹²⁷ Tschudi translates this: "... mit ehernen Ketten," and states in a note that the word *quellay* was employed to denote iron after the coming of the Spaniards. Middendorf¹²⁸ considers this passage of undoubtedly modern origin. Pacheco Zegarra translates: "attachée à cette chaîne de fer."

And Piqui-Chaqui says: "Ask me and give me something, and I will tell you," to which Rumiñahui replies: "I will give you one stake with which to beat you and three with which to hang you." Does not this refer to the medieval European conception of the gallows?¹²⁹

Neither Garcilaso nor any of the chroniclers make mention of an Ollanta, or Ollantai, who was a military chieftain or official of any kind under the Incas.¹³⁰ Palacios, in his article in *El Museo erudito*, speaks of Ollanta as probably a native of Tampu and chieftain of his district, who by courage and talent rose to the post of governor of a province, but Palacios does not cite authorities.

Pachacuti, or Pachacuti, was a powerful Inca of the first half of the fifteenth century. According to the drama, Thupac Yupanqui was the son and successor of Pachacuti; but, according to Garcilaso and most of the chroniclers, he was the son of the Inca Yupanqui.¹³¹ In the third act of the drama, the young Inca, Thupac

¹²⁶ *Op. cit.*, VI, 21: cf. also IX, 6.

¹²⁷ Cf. Garcilaso, *op. cit.*, II, 18: "no supieron sacar el hierro aunque tuvieron minas del." And, II, 28: "de quantas herramientas usan los de por aca (in Spain) para sus oficios, no alcançaron los del Peru mas de la hacha y açuela, y essas de cobre."

¹²⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

¹²⁹ Garcilaso, *op. cit.*, IV, 19 speaks of execution by hanging, but does not speak of the gallows.

¹³⁰ Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, p. 335, refers to evidence taken by the Viceroy Toledo, in 1570-71, from some two hundred witnesses, one of whom was named Ullantay. This seems to be the only mention in writing of a name similar to Ollanta before the appearance of the drama.

¹³¹ Huaman Poma, in his list of Incas, gives Topa Inga Yupanqui as the son of Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui. According to Huaman Poma, therefore, Pachacuti and Yupanqui were one and the same person (cf. Dr. Pietschmann's article in German).

Yupanqui, leaves Ollanta in charge of the government and sets out to conquer the Chancas; although, according to all accounts, the Chancas had been completely subjugated during the reign of Pachacutic. But these anachronisms, if they be such, would not be surprising, even if the drama were composed in the first or second decade of the sixteenth century, as Tschudi and Pacheco Zegarra suppose,—that is, nearly a century after the events described.

There are, however, certain passages in *Ollanta* which differ so markedly from the accounts of the chroniclers, that it seems highly improbable that they should have been composed in the time of the Incas. Thus, Ollanta, who is described as one of lowly origin,¹³² finally marries the sister of the Inca Thupac Yupanqui, and is appointed viceroy when the king leaves on a military expedition; although all authorities agree that in ancient Peru these honors could not come to one of plebeian origin. But to this charge against the historical accuracy of the drama, answer may be made that in several places it seems to be indicated that Ollanta was of royal blood. He is several times called *auqui* (Tschudi, verses: 246, 286, 400), a term applied only to princes of the royal blood. He is said to be the governor of the province of Antisuyu (Tschudi, verses: 152, 495), one of the four divisions of the empire, over which according to Garcilaso,¹³³ only "Incas legítimos en sangre" could rule. And, after his rebellion, his followers proclaim him their Inca. It seems impossible to reconcile this inconsistency of statement. If Ollanta had been of royal blood, the king would doubtless have been quite willing to give to this powerful chieftain one of his daughters to wife, but then there could have been no drama. The motif of the play is the ambition of a vassal who aspires to marry the Inca's daughter, and who rebels when his suit is scornfully rejected.

The Elect Virgins in the convent at Cuzco were subject to the strictest seclusion. They were rarely permitted to leave the building, and then only under escort; and they could be visited only by the queen and her daughters. Garcilaso says:

¹³² Ollanta asks the highpriest: "Will he (the Inca) reject me since I am not of Inca blood" (Tschudi, verses 237-8). Ollanta says to the king: "Why have you raised me up from plebeian rank?" (Tschudi, v. 480), and the king answers: "O, you are of lowly origin" (Tschudi, v. 510).

¹³³ *Op. cit.* II, 15.

"Viuián en perpetua clausura hasta acabar la vida con guarda de perpetua virginidad, no tenían locutorio, ni torno, ni otra parte alguna por donde pudiesen hablar, ni ver hombre, ni muger sino eran ellas mismas unas con otras, porque dezian que las mugeres del Sol no auian de ser tan communes que las viessen nadie; y esta clausura era tan grande, que aun el propio Inca no queria gozar del preuilegio, que como Rey podia tener de las ver, y hablar; Porque nadie se atreuiesse a pedir semejante preuilegio. Sola la Coya, que es la Reyna, y sus hijas tenían licencia de entrar en la casa, y hablar con las encerradas así moças como viejas" (IV, 2). "... siendo la principal intención de aquellos Reyes Incas que en esta (casa) de las monjas no entrassen hombres. . . Y porque las virgenes de aquella casa del Cozco eran dedicadas para mugeres del Sol, auian de ser de su misma sangre, quieo dezir hijas de los Incas, assi del Rey como de sus deudos los legitimos, y limpios de sangre agena, porque de las mezcladas con sangre agena que llamamos bastardas, no podian entrar en esta casa del Cozco, de la qual vamos ablando: y la razon desto dezian que, como no se sufria dar al Sol muger corrupta sino virgen, assi tampoco era licito darse la bastarda con mezcla de sangre agena" (IV, 1). And Palacios says (*op cit.*): "La casa de las Virgenes escogidas . . . que hubo en el Ccoscco, y ocupaba el sitio en que hoy está el monasterio de Santa Catalina de Siena . . . con tal estrictez en su recogimiento que la escogida que recibían en él, no volvía á ver, oír, ó hablar ni aun con sus propios padres, siendo sólo permitido á la reina ó Coya y á las Infantas ó Ñustas de la familia real, el entrar y visitar aquella casa."¹³⁴

And yet, in *Ollanta*, a girl, whose father was unknown, wanders into the convent and out again with the greatest freedom; and near the end of the play, the king and his retinue enter the convent at the request of this unknown girl, to see a strange woman in chains!

The Amautas of ancient Peru formed a learned corporation, that directed the education, or training, of the priests and nobles; and the members of this corporation were the poets and historians of the empire, in so far as there could be historians and poets in a people that did not possess the art of writing. Middendorf¹³⁵ says well that "the poets of the Incas were the legal experts and the guardians of social and religious customs." It is most improbable that they should have composed a drama which, in such important particulars, stands thus in contradiction to established usage. *Ollanta* must

¹³⁴ Cf. also Cieza de León, *op. cit.*, 2a parte, Cap. XXVII.

¹³⁵ *Ollanta Drama*, p. 135.

have been composed at a time when the conditions that prevailed under the Incas were largely forgotten.

As *Ollanta* resembles the old Spanish drama in technique, so it does in spirit, with one notable exception. The exception is that the lovers do not meet alone on the stage.¹³⁶ The chroniclers tell us that the Inca gave wives to the princes of the blood, and even chieftains of districts selected wives for their subjects. If this be true, love-making as portrayed in the modern drama was unknown in ancient Peru, and the author of *Ollanta* was evidently aware of the fact.

On the other hand, *Ollanta* would seem to resemble the older Spanish drama in several important particulars. In the first scenes the *galán* and *gracioso* give the initial exposition of the argument of the play. The *gracioso* is not unlike those of Lope de Vega, Calderón and other dramatists of the *Siglo de Oro*.¹³⁷

The *coup-de-théâtre* in the third act, when the king pardons all and gives them his blessing, seems reminiscent of the drama of Christian Europe. And when Yma-Sumac throws herself before the king and demands justice, one is reminded of Corneille's Chimène or her prototype in Guillén de Castro's drama. And finally, at the end of the play, all the important actors, save one who died, are gathered on the stage.

IV

With regard to the existence of some sort of drama among the ancient Peruvians, Garcilaso says:

"No les faltó abilidad a los Amautas, que eran los philosophos, para componer comedias y tragedias, que en dias y fiestas solennes representauan delante de sus Reyes, y de los señores que asistian en

¹³⁶ Nor do they in the Christian drama *Usca Paucar*, although *Usca Paucar* falls in love and marries.

¹³⁷ We have already had the *gracioso's* joke of the ass. Some others follow. When *Ollanta* boasts: "If the whole land rises against me, my arm will strike down all. My hands, my feet, are clubs; my axe shall hew them all"; Piqui-Chaqui rejoins: "And even I might have given the man a kick, if he hadn't been armed." In the solemn moment when the prisoners are brought in chains before the king to be judged, the latter, looking at Piqui-Chaqui ("Flea-Foot"), says: "Who is this?" Piqui-Chaqui answers: "In every valley there are many fleas which bite people. One drives them away with warm water. Let that be my punishment."

la Corte. Los representantes no eran viles, sino Incas y gente noble hijos de Curacas, y los mismos Curacas y capitanes hasta maeses de campo: porque los autos de las tragedias se representassen al propio, cuyos argumentos siempre eran de hechos militares, de triunfos y victorias, de las hazañas y grandezas de los Reyes passados, y de otros heroicos varones. Los argumentos de las comedias eran de agricultura, de hazienda, de cosas caseras, y familiares" (II, 27). "La misma abilidad muestran para las sciencias si se las enseñassen, como consta por las comedias, que en diversas partes han representado, porque es assi que algunos curiosos religiosos de diuersas religiones, principalmente de la Compañia de Iesus por aficionar a los Yndios a los misterios de nuestra redencion, han compuesto comedias para que las representassen los Yndios porque supieron que las representauan en tiempo de sus Reyes Incas" (II, 28).

And Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, in *Antigüedades del Peru* (cir. 1620) mentions types of dramatic compositions, which Markham¹³⁸ translates as 'joyous representations,' 'farces' and 'tragedies.' But neither Garcilaso nor Salcamayhua gives the title of any play or the name of any dramatic author, nor do they say whether the plays were in prose or in verse. If there were plays, they could not have been written, for the ancient Peruvians had no system of writing. It is possible that quipus may have been used to aid memory. This curious instrument was especially suited for reckonings and statistical tables. "In comparison with writing by letters, they" (the quipus) "were only a quite imperfect makeshift. For even if it was possible with intelligence and patience to express facts, commands, and even ideas, the form of the idea,—its wording,—could not be rendered."¹³⁹ If quipus were used by the Amautas to help them remember dramas, none of these quipus was preserved, or at least there is no record of any having been deciphered after the conquest. Don Ricardo Palma¹⁴⁰ in a letter¹⁴¹ to the writer of this article says:

"Yo no creo que en la época de las Incas hubiéramos tenido literatura teatral; para mí el famoso drama fué escrito en las postrime-

¹³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹³⁹ Middendorf, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

¹⁴⁰ The foremost man of letters in Peru, till 1912 director of the National Library at Lima, and author of *Tradiciones peruanas* (Lima, 1875 and 1899), *Mis últimas tradiciones* (Barcelona, 1906), et al.

¹⁴¹ Dated Jan. 10, 1913, at Miraflores, Lima, Peru.

rias del siglo XVIII por el cura de Tinta. Fijese usted en que las reminiscencias del teatro griego abundan en la obra, como lo comprueba la introducción de coros, y que la primera escena no desdice de las comedias de Lope, Calderón y Tirso, pues galán y gracioso hacen en la primera escena lo que se llama la exposición inicial del argumento. . . .¹⁴² En conclusión, y lamentando la imposibilidad en que me hallo¹⁴³ de discurrir sobre el tema, apuntándole las muchas razones en que fundo mi opinión de que en el tiempo de los Incas no existió literatura teatral, me reitero . . ." In a later letter¹⁴⁴ Señor Palma adds: "Mal podía haber en el Perú anterior á la conquista vida literaria, pues ni siquiera sabíamos escribir. Desconocíamos el uso de la pluma, y no teníamos alfabeto. Lo del famoso drama *Ollanta* no pasa de una superchería del cura Valdés. Ya la crítica lo ha comprobado suficientemente. Los Peruanos no teníamos ni noticia del uso del papel, de la pluma y de la tinta, antes de que viniera Don Francisco Pizarro á conquistarnos, y fué á fines del siglo XVIII cuando se le ocurrió al cura Valdés hacernos hasta dramaturgos."

It is most improbable that the ancient Peruvians, without a system of writing and, consequently, without a literature, should have composed dramas like those of modern Europe. They may well have had ballads of historical content, and they may have had scenic pageants accompanied by song and dance. Cieza de León, Garcilaso, and others, speak of ballads. Thus, Cieza de León:

"Y es tambien de saber, que fué costumbre dellos y ley muy usada y guardada, de escoger cada uno, en tiempo de su reynado, tres ó cuatro hombres ancianos de los de su nacion, á los cuales,

¹⁴² Here he speaks of General Mitre's article (*Ollantay. Estudio sobre el drama quichua*, in *La Nueva Revista de Buenos Aires* (1881), by General Bartolomé Mitre), saying that Mitre "opina, como yo, que los peruanos no tuvieron teatro." In this article General Mitre advances many reasons for believing *Ollanta* to be modern. Among those not already given by others are the following: *Ollanta* is a drama of *capa y espada*; it puts emphasis on conjugal fidelity, dislike of polygamy, and humanity to the vanquished; rebellion is condoned; the High Priest refers to the broken thread of destiny; the *yaraví* is reminiscent of the Song of Solomon; the wit of the *gracioso* is Andalusian. In the introduction to his English translation of *The Second Part of the Chronicle of Peru* by Pedro Cieza de León (London, 1883), Markham attempts, in a humorous vein, to answer Mitre, whom he accuses of using faulty texts, and adds that "the true version must be considered as that which excludes all words and passages which are not common to all the older manuscripts."

¹⁴³ Don Ricardo is eighty years of age and in poor health.

¹⁴⁴ Dated March 19, 1913.

viendo que para ello eran hábiles y suficientes, les mandaba que todas las cosas que sucediesen en las provincias durante el tiempo de su reinado, ora fuesen prósperas, ora fuesen adversas, las tuviesen en la memoria, y dellas hiciesen y ordenasen cantares, para que por aquel sonido se pudiese entender en lo futuro haber así pasado; con tanto que estos cantares no pudiesen ser dichos ni publicados fuera de la presencia del Señor."¹⁴⁵ And Garcilaso says: "Los Incas supieron componer en prosa, también como en verso, fábulas breves, y compendiosas por vía de poesía, para encerrar en ellas doctrina moral, o para guardar alguna tradición de su ydolatria, o de los hechos famosos de sus Reyes, o de otros grandes varones."¹⁴⁶

On page 131 of this article, mention was made of the historical pageants that were given at Potosi in the early days of that town. In an address entitled *La música indígena en sus relaciones con la literatura*, given by Don Felipe Barreda y Laos at Lima, Peru, in 1910,¹⁴⁷ the speaker describes somewhat similar representations that are given by the Indians of the Sierra today:

"Por medio de un baile que se llama de los *incas*, los indios de la Sierra mantienen siempre vivo el recuerdo doloroso de la conquista, reproduciendo con acompañamiento de danza, y canto de un coro de diez á doce jóvenes, el episodio de la prisión y muerte del inca Atahualpa. Regularmente, se ejecuta este baile de la siguiente manera: diez á doce jóvenes, lujosamente vestidas, se dividen en dos filas, colocadas frente á frente, y un tanto distanciadas. En el espacio intermediario, y hacia un extremo, se coloca un indio disfrazado de Pizarro, enmascarado, con sombrero de picos y espada. En el extremo opuesto, y cerrando el cuadro, está Atahualpa, que aparece entre dos ñustas: dos indios, también disfrazados de españoles, acompañan á Pizarro. Comienza el baile al son de un tamboril y de una flauta, y cuando éste concluye, sucede una lucha entre Pizarro y Atahualpa, que termina con la prisión y muerte del inca, entre cantos tristes y lamentaciones del coro de payas inconsolables."

It is certainly likely that the "dramas" of ancient Peru were akin to these scenic representations rather than to the plays of Calderon.*

¹⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, 2a parte, Cap. XII.

¹⁴⁶ *Op. cit.*, IV, 1.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. *Conferencia literario-musical*, mentioned above.

* In *The Güegüence, A Comedy Ballet in the Nahuatl-Spanish Dialect of Nicaragua*, Edited by Daniel G. Brinton (Philadelphia, 1883), Brinton states that

Before closing this article, it seems best to give the views concerning the source of *Ollanta* held by some other Peruvian and Spanish scholars. The distinguished Peruvian historian, Don Manuel de Mandiburu, in an article entitled *La lengua Quichua ó Quechua*,¹⁴⁸ says:

"El notable publicista argentino General don Bartolomé Mitre y nuestro laborioso amigo don Ricardo Palma han sostenido que el *Ollanta* no pudo ser escrito en tiempo de los Incas, sino escrito en quechua, á fines del siglo XVIII, por persona conocedora del teatro griego y del español, opinión de la que también participa el compilador de estos apuntes, por estimarla muy fundada." Dr. José Gabriel Cosío, a professor in the University of Cuzco, published an article in the university review, *La Sierra* (August, 1911), entitled *El melodrama "Ollanta."* He sums up his conclusion in these words: "Es indudable que el drama tiene todas las trazas de ser obra de alguien que conocía el teatro español representado en el siglo de oro de la Literatura Castellana por Lope de Vega y Calderón. La disposición de las escenas, la ficción de los episodios y, sobre todo, el gracioso ó bufo representado por Piqui-Chaqui, muestro in Nicaragua, in the sixteenth century, the Indians performed symbolic "bailes" at some of which songs "of an historical character" were sung, and quotes Fernández de Oviedo, who "was in Nicaragua in 1529" (*Historia general de las Indias*, Lib. XLII, Cap. XI. For accounts of similar dances in Mexico during the sixteenth century, see Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del Nuovo Mondo*, fol. 103 *Venetia*, 1565), and Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España* (ed. Mexico, 1880), tomo II, p. 232. Of the *Baile del Güegüence*, ó *Macho-ratón*, Brinton says: "Several copies of this exist in manuscript and from a comparison of two of them, the late Dr. C. H. Berendt obtained, in 1874, the text which is printed in this volume . . . Its antiquity and authorship are alike unknown." The play "is composed in a mixed dialect, a jargon of low Spanish and corrupt Aztec (Nahuatl). He considers the spirit of the play to be aboriginal because it differs from the Spanish drama in "the absence of all reference to the emotions of love . . . in that, while females are introduced, they are strictly *mutae personae*, even the heroine not speaking a word; that there are no monologues or soliloquies; that there is no separation into scenes, the action being continuous throughout; that there is neither prologue, epilogue or chorus; and especially the wearisome repetition of the same phrases." *Güegüence* is a farce in prose consisting mainly of horseplay and coarse dialogues. Güegüence himself is a boasting, lying, licentious knave whose humor consists largely in pretending to be deaf or to misunderstand the words spoken to him.

¹⁴⁸ Published posthumously in *Apuntes históricos*, Lima, 1902. Mandiburu's most important work is the *Diccionario histórico del Perú*.

tran á las claras su origen colonial." Although the great Spanish literary critic Menéndez y Pelayo was not a Quechua scholar, yet his knowledge of comparative literature gives weight to his pronouncement regarding the source of *Ollanta*. He says:¹⁴⁹ "... el famoso *Ollantai*, que se ha querido dar por antiquísimo texto dramático de dicha literatura (quechua), pero que, leído desapasionadamente, no parece, á lo menos en las traducciones, más que una imitación de las comedias españolas, hecha por algún ingenioso misionero del siglo XVII, y quizá de tiempo muy posterior." To these expressions of opinion must be added the positive words of Dr. Lenz in his recent letter to the writer of this article, to which reference has already been made; "*Ollanta* is no more Incaic than the drama *del hijo pródigo* published by Middendorf."

It has been shown that Middendorf, who is the most learned and the most thorough of all Quechua scholars, was the first to determine the age of the texts of *Ollanta* by making a critical study of the language. Now, curiously, neither Middendorf nor any other of the Quechua scholars who have been mentioned in this article, has made a study of the versification of the play, and yet the versification is the most convincing evidence we have that no part of *Ollanta* was composed in its present form before the Spanish conquest. For if there was an *Ollanta* drama in the time of the Incas,—and of this there is not the slightest evidence,—it has been worked over from beginning to end and put into Spanish verse-forms.

V

The story of *Ollanta*,—at least in part,—may be ancient,¹⁵⁰ but this has not been proven. The *Ollanta* drama, in its present form, is of the eighteenth century: this date is clearly indicated by all the manuscripts now extant. It is possible that the play was composed at an earlier date, and that successive copyists changed

¹⁴⁹ *Antología de poetas hispano-americanos*, Vol. III (1894), p. cclxxvii.

¹⁵⁰ Palacios (in *El Museo erudito*, 1837) gives an *Ollanta* tradition; but as he heard it some sixty years after the public performance of the play, it is impossible to determine whether the tradition is the source of the play, or the play the source of the tradition. Pacheco Zegarra (*op. cit.*, p. xlix) says: "La plupart (des Indiens), peut-être tous, sauf de rares exceptions, ignorent l'existence d'un drame qui a pour base l'épisode historique d'*Ollantai* et même la tradition relative à cette épisode."

the language to conform to that spoken in their day, but of this there is no evidence. The spirit of the play, the dramatic arrangement, and the versification, show clearly that the author was acquainted with the Spanish drama, and that he imitated it. The date of the play has not been definitely established, but it could not have been prior to the Spanish conquest. The evidence points to the eighteenth century as the date of its composition, and to Valdés as its author. The *Ollanta* that we possess is not an "ancient Inca drama," for whether the subject matter be ancient or not, the play is modern. To call *Ollanta* "an ancient Inca drama" is as absurd as to call Shakspere's *Julius Caesar* and Corneille's *Horace* ancient Roman dramas.

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THE LOVER IN ACHILLE CAULIER'S
HOSPITAL D'AMOURS

IN the conclusion of his article on Achille Caulier's *Hospital D'Amours* (*Romania*, 34; 559-565) M. A. Piaget says: "Sans être d'une grande originalité, *l'Hospital D'Amours* est facilement écrit et témoigne de quelques dons d'observation. La partie où sont décrites les peines des amoureux renferme quelques traits heureux et a été imitée par Jean Bouchet dans son *Monologue de raison contre les folz amoureux*."

The possibility of finding marks of originality in a period perhaps characterized by the lack of any, led us to make a careful study of the poem so distinguished, and especially of the passage describing the sufferings of lovers.

Two influences can be traced in *l'Hospital D'Amours*: that of the ubiquitous *Roman de la Rose*, which supplies the leading ideas; and that of Alain Chartier's *Débat des deux fortunés d'amours*, which contributes a few of the striking details. It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Caulier had already, once before, imitated Alain Chartier, drawing inspiration for *La femme cruelle en amours*, from *La Belle Dame sans Merci* (*Romania*, 31; 322-349). The two influences, distinct enough in their essential features, are not so easily differentiated when they come in contact: The source is always clear, but the form makes us suspect that Caulier may occasionally have taken the ideas through the direct medium of Alain Chartier. The blending is such, however, as to make it impossible to determine which is the dominant influence, and, in such cases, we shall content ourselves with citing parallel passages. As for the author himself, his function seems to be that of a clever compiler, who occasionally takes liberties with his material, and develops (paradoxically) originality in imitation.

The first part of *l'Hospital* employs the usual allegorical machinery of the *Roman*: The 'verger'; the fountain of Narcissus; Venus and her 'brandon'; Bel-accueil, the porter; Male-bouche and Jalousie, who stir up the gardner, Dangier, against the lover; Pitie,

etc., etc. Rebuffed by Dangier, the Lover goes to complain to Amours himself. The god's answer is a disquisition (one-third of the poem) on the woes of lovers. It is introduced by a question which, logically, must refer to the passage in the *Roman*, where at the request of l'Amant, he gives him his precepts (*Roman*, 2053 . . .). "Do you remember," he asks, "what I told you before about the sufferings to be endured,"

"Ains que tu eusses d'amours le bout?" *Hospital*, p. 741

This question, Amours' first words, might, of course, be a mere introductory device; but, the subsequent similarities seem to support our assumption of a direct reference. Amours continues (*Hospital*, page 742):

"Ne te souvient-il que je dis
Au commencement tu auroyes
Contre ung bien des maux plus de dix,
.
.
.
Ung seul bien que je scay donner
Reboute cent mille douleurs."

Likewise, Chartier (*Débat*, p. 568):

"Et cent douleurs contre ung plaisir acquièrent."

The source for both might well be the following lines of the *Roman* (2636-8):

"Esperance li fait soffrir
Tant maus que nus n'en set le conte
Por la joie qui cent tans monte."

The Lover is next shown needlessly suffering and tormenting himself (*Hospital*, p. 743):

"Je te diray de quoi il sert
De veiller, de rompre sa teste
De faire veille a point de feste."

Débat, p. 553:

"Si se tempeste
Et de veiller rompt son corps et sa feste
Ne n'a plaisir de joye ne de feste."

The contrary emotions of the Lover are described in *l'Hosp.*, 743:

" . . . en plourant se rit de joye."

The *Débat*, 552, makes him

"Parmy les gens rire la lerne à l'ueil."

The *Roman*, 4342, describing love says:

"C'est ris plains de plors et de lermes."

Taking his theme from the *Roman*, l. 2191-2198:

"Il est ensi que li amant
Ont par hores joie et torment

Une hore plore et autre chante.

Caulier speaks of the variable moods of the Lover: His sudden and unreasoning elation is changed to an equally sudden and senseless grief. He vows never again to see his lady, but (*Hosp.*, 744):

"Devant son hostel passera . . .

En ce point passera le temps
Jusques à ce qu'on clorra l'huys."

The Lover in the *Débat*, 553:

" . . . va passer trois fois devant sa porte

Passe et repasse,
Et de passer devant l'huys ne se lasse."

Both act in accordance with the direction given by Amours, in the *Roman*, 2397-8, that the Lover must haunt the approaches of his lady's house.

"Et tes allées et ti tour
Soient tuit adès la entour."

After the door is closed, the Lover will return to listen (*Hosp.*, 745):

"Si y reviendra tout[e]s les nuis
A ung certain trou escouter,

L'oreille y mettra justement
 Pour escouter et rien ouyr
 Et sa teste emplira de vent
 Qui luy fera les dents fremir
 Et esmouvoir: si que dormir
 Ne pourra. . . ."

This trait is not in the *Débat*, but follows the *Roman*, l. 2534-2538:

"Après iras à l'huys devant
 Et se tu treuves fendéure
 Ne fenestre ne serréure,
 Oreille et escoute parmi
 S'il se sont léens endormi."

The following idea, however, which is not in the *Roman*, is taken from Alain Chartier, and shows Caulier's original way of developing his data: The Lover's joys like his sorrows, spring mostly from self-delusion. The sight—or fancied sight—of his lady, is enough to make him happy (*Hosp.*, 744):

"Et peult estre qu'à l'huys viendra
 La vieille tordre son filé,
 Et sa dame véoir cuidera.
 Ainsi sera trompé le fol, . . .
 Pour neant perdra sa tristesse."

Débat, 559:

"Et si sa dame à la fenestre vient
 Soy montrer goutte,
 Ou se le vent une fenestre boute,
 Dont il cuide que sa dame l'escoute,
 S'en va coucher joyeux, . . ."

After a sleepless night, the Lover arises and hurries off to early mass. Not only can he see his lady on her way to church, and gaze upon her there, but he has the great happiness of presenting the Pax to her and of kissing the place which her lips touched. *Hosp.*, 745-746:

"Et puis s'en va vers le monstier
 Sans penser à Dieu n'à image,
 Il scet l'heure que par usage

Sa dame doit aller à messe,
Si l'attend de l'oeil au passage,

.
.

Et puis fait tant qu'il a la paix,
La fait baiser à sa maitresse
Et s'il ose la baise après."

Débat, 559:

"Et au matin à la messe sonner
L'amant s'en va l'Eglise environner,
Et l'eau benoiste à sa dame donner,
Et la paix prendre
Tout voulentiers pour luy porter et tendre,
Car c'est le bien ou il veult lors entendre,
Qu'après elle baisier sans plus attendre."

This feature is found in the *Flamenca* (l. 2391-3): Guillem de Nivers goes to mass early in the hope of seeing Flamenca. L. 2559-60: The Pax is given her to kiss. L. 2997 and 3967: Guillem kisses it more than a thousand times after her. Caulier has further developed this passage by the addition of traits found neither in the *Flamenca* nor in Chartier—who, doubtless, was his direct source (*Hosp.*, 746). At the 'Introit', the Lover takes a seat near or opposite his lady, better to see her face. Any beggar who happens along is sure to receive generous alms.

"C'est amoureuse ypocrisie,"

At the 'Offertory', she goes to kiss the priest's finger, and the poor Lover trembles with the fear that someone may kiss it ahead of him. He almost wishes that it were cut off. During mass, he is too occupied with his goddess to think of God—his prayers are addressed to Him, his thoughts to her. As she leaves the church, he follows her with his eyes, then goes to bow over the place where she bent her head,

"Car pour certain luy semblera
Que le lieux vaille mieulx pour elle."

He imagines that no one knows his secret, whereas (*Hosp.*, 746):

" . . . l'experience
De quanque il fait court par la ville."

The *Débat* likewise says that (574-575)

" . . . tout sera decloz
Ce qu'il tenoit & bien couvert & clos."

Both poems show the exhilarating effect of his lady's glance upon the Lover. Not only is he beside himself with joy, but, thinking himself loved, he pledges his faith to her, and goes about singing into the night (*Hosp.*, 747):

" En passant ung salut luy fait
Et ung doux regard luy envoie
S'elle respond, il est reffait.

Ne se peult tenir qu'il ne chante,
En allant comme font les fos,

D'estre loyal sa foy créante,
Et pour ce salut fait tel feste,
Qu'il cuide estre amé, . . ."

Débat, 558:

" Et s'il advient que sa dame le voye,
Et que sans plus ung regard luy envoie,
Il pensera que le cueur le convoye.
Or est repeu,
Et s'esjouyst . . .

Débat, 559:

Et cuide bien,
Que la belle luy vueille assez de bien,
Et jure Dieu qu'il est et sera sien
N'autre qu'elle n'amera il pour rien.

Et sur la nuit va chantant à voix basse."

the same idea also occurs earlier in the poem (*Débat*, 553-554):

" Et de chanter n'est nul qui le desmeuve:
Et s'ainsi est qu'il la rencontre ou treuve
En aucuns lieux,

Et elle rit de la bouche ou des yeulx,
Il est ravy trop plus hault qu'aux tiers cieulx,
Et prend pour soy tousjours la chose au mieulx."

This extravagant joy is again turned to deepest gloom, if perchance he catches sight of his lady returning some other gallant's salute. He goes to dinner, pretends to eat, and absent-mindedly takes up his glass when he wants the bread (*Hosp.*, 748):

"Ainsi s'en va vers le disner,
Et de desplaisir est tout plain,
Et pour contenance monstrier
S'assiet et *va disner sans fain*:
Quant il doit boire il prend le pain."

Débat, 571:

"... n'a saveur en vin ne en viande
Manjue sans fain,
S'il quiert le boire, il va prendre le pain."

This last trait, original with Chartier, serves Achilles Caulier as a starting point for further amplification: The Lover, to conceal his agitation, "Joue du cousteau & du pié", he cuts up his 'trenchoer', and finally, starts from the table without taking leave. When alone (*Hosp.*, 748):

"... est de lermes aveuglé.
Lors fait ses regrets et ses plains:
En haut crie, destort ses mains,"

The *Débat*, 570, also gives a picture of the distracted Lover:

"Ses yeulx mouillez & sa face souillée.
Or pense et songe,
Ses mains destord. . ."

A condition of semi-torpor succeeds these marks of violent grief; the Lover remains for a while motionless, "Sans mémoire, comme une beste," and then decides to go declare his love to his lady. He prepares a beautiful speech, but is tongue-tied when comes the time to deliver it (*Hosp.*, 749):

"Lors pense comme il dira,
Quant ce viendra à approucher.

Et comme son propos sçaura
 En ung beau langaige coucher.
 Le penser ne couste pas chier,
 Mais la maîtrise est en faisant:
 Car lors qu'il devra commencer,
 Ne sçaura quel bout va devant."

Débat, 569-570:

"Or se repose
 Le douloureux, qui en son cueur propose
 Qu'il luy dira, mais dire ne luy ose,
 . . .
 Langue n'y sert plus que s'el fust coupée
 Et sa pensée est si envelopée
 Et si en serre,
 Qu'il ne sçet bout ne fin. . . ."

The *Roman*, l. 2409-2416, is obviously the direct source:

"Parole te faudra et sens
 Quant tu cuideras commencer;
 etc., etc., . . .

See further, Langlois, *Origines*, pp. 30 and 31. This awkward situation is repeated, until the lady, eager for the 'dénouement,' skillfully draws forth the declaration, which she follows by a prompt refusal—not without leaving some ray of hope, however. This is the final test of loyalty (*Hosp.*, 751).

"Mais prenez qu'il die à son aise
 Or tout ce que dire il voudra
 Et que tout à sa dame plaise,
 Pour ce conforté en sera:
 Car elle luy reffusera.
 Pour l'esprouver luy fait ce mal."

Débat, 561:

"Et s'il trouve quelque fois la saison,
 Que bel accueil luy donne l'achaison
 D'oser compter et dire sa raison
 . . .
 Tant qu'elle veoit que ce n'est mie fainte

De ce qu'il dit:
Elle luy donne un courtois escondit
Meslé d'espoir que reffus contredit,"

Another excuse for this harshness is that it enhances the value of love (*Hosp.*, 751).

"Et cil qui prie doit sçavoir,
Que tant plus est la chose chiere,
Tant doit plus couster à l'avoir:
La valeur y met la renchiere."

Débat, 555-556:

"Mais il n'est bien ne joye si hautaine,
Que l'en prise, s'on ne l'a à grant paine.
.
.
.
.
.
Car nature a en nous telle loy mise
Que mieulx nous plaist chose à danger conquise."

In the *Roman*, after Amours has enumerated the woes and trials of lovers, l'Amant asks him how a human being can possibly endure such torments. Amours replies (*Roman*, l. 2610-14):

"Nus n'a bien s'il ne le compère
Si aime-l'en miex le cheté
Quant l'en l'a plus chier acheté
Et plus en gré sunt recéu
Li bien dont l'en a mal éu."

Achille Caulier finishes with a passage in praise of ladies (*Hosp.*, p. 751):

"Tout est fait pour homme servir,
Et homme est fait pour servir Dame."

The god of love now goes to the lady, and obtains a kiss for the Lover.

The examination of the preceding passages reveals, therefore, a strong influence (a) of the *Roman de la Rose*, in ideas and allegorical matter; (b) of Alain Chartier's *Débat des deux fortunés d'amours*, in some important details, with occasional cases of verbal similarity; (c) Achilles Caulier's originality in the elaboration of his sources.

JOSEPH SERONDE

THE FRENCH PAST DEFINITE AS PERFECT

THE Latin perfect tense, from which the French past definite is descended, was used to denote not only what happened at a definite point of past time, but what has happened relative to the present, *e. g.*, "vixit", "he has lived". In Low Latin, the aorist use of this tense came to predominate, its use as a perfect being generally supplanted by the new past indefinite.¹ Grammarians seem generally agreed, however, that the perfect use of the old tense persisted in Old French to a certain extent. Meyer-Lübke, *Gram. der rom. Sprachen*, III, pp. 127-129, establishes—not very clearly—three uses of this tense. As an example of the perfect use he quotes *Cligès*, 4735: "Nos nel *veïmes* puis que nos del tornoï *partimes*", and a few other cases, adding: "In der alten [Sprache] kommt sie nur sehr vereinzelt vor". Étienne, *Essai de gram. de l'anc. fran.*, pp. 229-230, gives an example from *Alex.* 14b, and the following from Joinville: "Je Jehans, sires de Joinville, . . . fais escrire . . . ce que je vi et ouï par l'espace de sis ans que je fui en sa compagnie . . . et puis que nous *revenimes*". Darmesteter, *Historical French Grammar* (trans. by A. Hartog, Macmillan, 1899), pp. 754-755, says: "As a matter of fact, the distinction between these two tenses [past definite and perfect] was not a sharply established one even in the Old language. Thus . . . we find the preterite constantly replacing the perfect: 'Sachiez nos ne *venimes* mie por vos mal faire, ainz *venimes* por vos garder'. Villehardouin, 146. . . . The preterite was thus used not only to represent the past absolute, but also to denote a past in relation with the present. This confusion continued in Middle French."

In Middle French, an excellent example of the perfect use is found in Villon, *Grand Testament*, CLX: "Jehan de Calays, honnorable homme, | Qui ne me *veit* des ans a trente, | Et ne sçait comment je me nomme", etc. The implication of connection with present time is here unmistakable. In the 16th century, a good instance occurs in the last line of Clément Marot's *Adieu aux dames*

¹ Cf. Grandgent, *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, §§ 122, 124.

de la court: "Or je feis fin à mon Adieu".² The adverb *or* (= *maintenant*) and the poem as a whole show clearly that the sense is *j'ai fait*. (Cf. also "*dont je vous feis present*", earlier in the same poem.)

There seems little doubt of the existence of this use of the past definite in Old and Middle French. Does it continue in modern French, as it does in modern Spanish, *e. g.*, in the common expression "*Ya acabó*"? Most of the grammars consulted—Clédat, B. Jullien, Marty-Laveaux (*Lexique de la langue de Corneille*), Harrison (Mätzner), Haase, Petit de Julleville, Brunot—either pass over the subject, or seem to agree with the usual distinction between the past definite and the past indefinite, confining the former to those cases where the time of the verb-action is wholly in the past and reserving for the latter those cases where any connection of the past with the present is expressed or implied. Meyer-Lübke (*loc. cit.*) says expressly: "*Dagegen kennt die moderne Sprache die Verwendung als reines Perfektum Präsens gar nicht*".

In spite of this, I believe it can be shown that the use of the past definite as perfect has continued uninterruptedly from Middle French through the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries down to the present time, at least in the written language. In support of this theory, the following examples are adduced. Not in all cases can these tenses be translated with the auxiliary "have",³ but in every case there is, I believe, a distinct connection with present time implied.

In the 17th century, we find the following: "*La voici, la belle Marie, . . . Qui fait confesser au soleil, . . . Que du ciel, depuis qu'il y monte, | Ne vint jamais rien de pareil*" (Malherbe, *A la reine Marie de Médicis*).—"Avec trop de vertus il vous *plut* la former, | Pour ne vous pas connaître et ne vous pas aimer" (Corneille, *Polyeucte*, 1269-1270).—"Tout ce que je demande . . . C'est que chez les Romains il retourne achever | Des jours que dans leur sein vous *fîtes* élever" (Corneille, *Nicomède*, 1287-1290). (Attale has just returned from Rome.)—"Par le droit de la guerre il *fut* tou-

² Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, in a note on this line, p. 188 of their *Morceaux choisis du XVI^e siècle*, explain: "*Je fis, j'ai fait.*"

³ The use of the compound tense is not always required in English to imply connection with the present. Cf. "It's the best play I ever saw."

jours permis | D'allumer la révolte entre ses ennemis" (*ib.*, 1697-1698).—"Pour témoigner à tous qu'à regret je permets | Un sanglant procédé qui ne me *plut* jamais" (*id.*, le *Cid*, 1451-1452).—"Oui, Clitandre en est charmé, | Et je ne *vis* jamais amant plus inflammé" (Molière, *Femmes savantes*, 353-354).—"Un bienfait reproché *tint* toujours lieu d'offense" (Racine, *Iphigénie*, 1413).—"Et l'on ne *trouva* point de véritable amant | Qui n'estime les fers qu'il supporte en aimant" (Du Ryer, *les Vendanges de Suresnes*, III, 1).—"Dans la Normandie, qui *fut* toujours une des provinces les plus laborieuses et les plus aisées, sur 700,000 âmes, il n'y en a pas 50,000 qui mangent du pain" (Petition of 1698, in Lacombe, *Petite Histoire du peuple français*, p. 145).

In the 18th century, we find the following: "Voilà mes passions. Mon âme en tous les temps | *Goûta* de leurs attraits les plaisirs consolants" (Voltaire, *Discours sur l'homme*).—"Julie, *oublîâtes*-vous mes serments avec les vôtres? Pour moi, je ne les ai point oubliés" (Rousseau, *la Nouvelle Héloïse*, VI, 7).—"J'*aimai* la vertu dès mon enfance, et *cultivai* ma raison dans tous les temps" (*ib.*, VI, 8).—"Tout ce qu'elle [Julie] *eut* de meilleur vous reste . . . Que tout ce qu'elle *aima* se rassemble pour lui donner un nouvel être" (*ib.*, VI, 12). (Julie's death-bed letter).—"Difficile à ébranler et à retenir, ce *fut* là de tout temps ma disposition constante" (*id.*, *Confessions*, p. 29 in Steeg's *Extraits*).—"Elle est au sein des flots, la jeune Tarentine! | Son beau corps a roulé sous la vague marine. | Téthys, les yeux en pleurs, dans le creux d'un rocher | Aux monstres dévorants *eut* soin de le cacher" (Chénier, *la Jeune Tarentine*, 15-18).

In the 19th century, we find the following cases: "Athène a vu longtemps s'accroître ta beauté, | Et, depuis que trois fois t'*éclaira* son été, | Ton front s'est élevé jusqu'au front de ta mère" (Vigny, *Symétha*, 25-27).—"Stello est né le plus heureusement du monde et protégé par l'étoile du ciel la plus favorable. Tout lui a réussi . . . cette étoile ne lui *manqua* jamais", etc. (*id.*, *Stello*, p. 1).—"D'autres sont bien plus malheureux que moi: mais j'ignore s'il *fut* jamais un homme moins heureux" (Senancour, *Obermann*).—"Éteins-toi, cœur jeune et plein de flamme! | Laisse régner l'esprit, que longtemps tu *troubas*!" (Hugo, *Hernani*, 1766-1767).—"La mort est amère | A qui *vécut* trop doucement" (Gautier, *les Affres*

de la mort).—“. . . ces charmants passages qui prouvent, une fois de plus, l'avance marquée qu'*eut* presque de tout temps la prose française sur la poésie" (Ste.-Beuve, *Nouveaux Lundis*, IV, p. 306).⁴ "Me voici donc . . . bien averti que je vais avoir à payer de quelque ennui des satisfactions qui *furent* très vives" (Fromentin, *Une année dans le Sahel*, p. 106).—"Et comme le ressouvenir de quelque chose qui *fut* et ne renaîtra jamais . . ." (Cherbuliez, *le Comte Kostia*, p. 307).—"Ici, des rosiers nains qu'un goût docte *effila*" (Verlaine, *Nuit de Walpurgis classique*, 10). (The poem is in the présent tense).—"D'autres lunettes . . . reproduisent . . . tout ce que le temps *emporta* dans sa fuite" (France, *Abeille*, Heath ed., p. 57.) "Un bonhomme qui, comme moi, *consuma* sa vie sur des livres, ne sait pas", etc. (*id.*, *Sylvestre Bonnard*, Holt, old ed., p. 44).—"Je rêve; cela est bien permis . . . à un bonhomme qui *publia* trente volumes de textes anciens et *collabora* pendant vingt-six ans, etc. . . . Mes efforts ne *furent* pas tout à fait vains, et j'ai contribué", etc. (*ib.*, new ed., p. 99).—"Les gens qui *n'eurent* pas de faiblesses sont terribles" (*ib.*, p. 147).—"C'est un adieu, et il *fut* de tout temps dans la nature de l'homme de prolonger les adieux" (*ib.*, p. 225).—"Pour ceux qui me voient du haut du Serapum, . . . je ressemble à un grain de riz; mais ce grain de riz *causa* . . . des deuils", etc. (*id.*, *Thaïs*, p. 143). Thaïs is still beautiful.)—"Je n'ai pas trouvé le bonheur en ce monde. Mon sort *fut* plus beau que celui d'une reine et cependant la vie m'a apporté bien des tristesses" (*ib.*, p. 151).—"Heureux qui *sut* se rendre muet, aveugle et sourd et qui ne comprend rien du monde afin de comprendre Dieu"! (*ib.*, p. 326).—"Si quelquefois je *fus* éloquent . . . Vous le *fûtes*!" (Rostand, *Cyrano de Bergerac*, III, 6).—"Regarde, Cyrano! ce matin, sur le quai, | Le bizarre gibier à plumes que nous *prîmes*!" (*ib.*, II, 7). (Rostand here violates the rule that the past definite must not be used in connection with any period of time not yet completed.)

In the 20th century we find these cases: "Eux étaient les sages . . . et ma destinée, au contraire, *fut* de courir à tous les mirages" (Loti, *Château de la belle au bois dormant*, p. 28).—"Tous ceux qui

⁴ With this passage, of 1863, it is interesting to compare the following, of 1845: "Cet excellent dialogue . . . est un exemple de plus . . . qu'en français la prose a eu de tout temps une avance marquée sur la poésie" (*Id.*, *Port. contemp.*, V, p. 25).

les *fréquentèrent* et *surent* les comprendre le connaissent aussi bien qu'eux-mêmes, ce cri" (*ib.*, p. 59).—"Le peuple . . . sait très bien qu'un homme a été souvent à la guerre . . . qu'un juge est assidu . . . Le peuple sait qu'un tel *fut* toujours bon juge et qu'un tel *fut* un excellent officier. Donc il peut nommer un prêteur et un général" (Faguet, *le Culte de l'incompétence*, p. 41).

These examples, it is believed, are sufficient to show that in the written language the French past definite still frequently implies a connection with present time.

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MISCELLANEOUS.

ROMANIC *RETINAS

THE stresless porcion ov *retinet* woz replaced by strest *tenet* at an erly period, and the permanent coneccion ov **re-tenet* with *tenet* cauzd intervocalic *t* to escape voising. The imperativ *retine* woz, houeever, retaind in speaking to a driver; and becauz ov its differ-ing stress, it ceast to be associated with *tene* and **re-tene*. A curius paralel for this formacion ov dublets iz found in English *get ap* = *get up*, with a vouel-chanje unnown in ordinary speech. Az môst dictionery-riters ignoar *get ap*, it may be wel to say (for the benefit ov foren readers) that this expression means 'go on' in speaking to a horse. Persons acustomd to saying *get ap* do not uze it for eny other sense ov *get up*.

The isolated imperativ *retine* woz thus free to form infleccions ov its own. On acount ov its peculiar use, very feu wer needed, probably ônly foar or five at the môst. A man miht say *curre* to his servant, but *curras* to a frend and *currat ille senior* hwen speak-ing to (or ov) a stranjer. Likewise *retine* developt the subjunctiv **retinas*, and perhaps also **retinat*, **retinamus*, **retinatis*, **retinant*. From **retinas* come Portugees *rêdeas*, Galician *rendas*, Spanish *riendas*, Catalan *regnas*, Provençial *renas*, French *re(s)nes*. Kört-ing's idêa ov conecting the Provençial form *renhas* with *renhar* iz perhaps corect; but *ilha*, a variant ov *isla* < *insula*, shows that such an explanation iz needless. His statement that French *resnes* cannot come from **retinas* iz cwite unjustified. He cwotes *aurone* < *abrotonu* and *plane* < *platanu* az evidense in the matter, but sinse all three werds show chect vouels with later loss ov the checking sounds, *aurone* and *plane* proov that *rênes* can come from **retinas*. The ritn *s* ov *resne* may hav wonse bin pronounst, if we asume a chanje ov *ð* to *z* in contact with a consonant. But it iz also possibl that *s* in *resne* woz, like *d* in the variant spelling *redne*, meerly the grafic simbol ov vouel-length or the "etimolojic" reprezentativ ov

a lost sound.¹ *Rêne* has the dialectal variants *-ranne* and *-rande* in derivativs ov **bouiretina*.²

Catalan *setmana* has the variants *senmana*,³ *semmana*,⁴ *semana*.⁵ Thees developments show that secondery *t*, in contact with a voist consonant, may be treated like a primery intervocalic *t*. We can thærfoar asume that in the Catalan derivativ ov **retinas*, the secondery *d* miht hav developot like a primery *d* between vouels. The common development *w* < *v* < *ð*, az in *cau* < *cadit*, *riu* < *ridet*, permits the asumpcion ov **rewna* < **redena* < **retina*. The ocazional chanje ov *w* to *l* befoar a consonant, az in *colze* < *cubitu*, *malalt* < *male habitu*, shows that the *w* ov **rewna* miht hav become velar *l*. By asimilacion *w* or velar *l* cood hav made *η* (= English final *ng*) befoar *n*. The sounds *w* and *η* hav nearly the same tungpozicions; a chanje ov nazalized *w* to *η* iz found in Galician *uŋa* (speld *unha* or *un-a*) = Portugees *uma* < *una*.⁶ Thus Catalan *regna*, pronounst *remə*, iz prezumably the direct derivativ ov **retina*: thær iz no need ov asuming eny influense from the book-werd *regnar*.

Italian *redine* and *redini* may be conected eether with **retinas* or with *retine*.

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¹ *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXV, 95.

² *Romania*, XLII, 384.

³ *Revista de bibliografia catalana*, I, 79.

⁴ *Revista de bibliografia catalana*, I, 86; *Revue de dialectologie romane*, V, 15.

⁵ *Revista de bibliografia catalana*, I, 88.

⁶ Cp. *Die Neueren Sprachen*, XI, 148; *Revue hispanique*, VI, 39; Robles, *Fonética general*, 98, Santiago 1900. I hav herd *uŋa* repeatedly pronounst by the Galician poet Aurelio Ribalta, a nativ ov Ferrol.

BOOK REVIEWS.

François I^{er} et le Mouvement Intellectuel en France. (1515-1547.) By WILLIAM HEUBI, Docteur ès Lettres. Lausanne, 1913. Pp. 157.

History has provided us with so much material concerning Francis I. and he has been the subject, both directly and indirectly, of so many studies of historical and literary nature, that we are not a little astonished to see a new book dealing with the seemingly exhausted topic.

Within the last thirty years, or more, students of literature have turned their eyes to the Renaissance with ever increasing interest and enthusiasm. Each year sheds new light on the leaders and the followers of the period. We now have excellent studies of such men as Budé, Dolet, Calvin, S. Castellion, Guillaume du Bellay, Marguerite de Navarre, Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, and others. Naturally, Francis I. figures in all these works, but up till now we have had no single volume in which is put before us concretely the rôle played by the king in the development of thought, and his exact dealings with the exponents of Humanism and of the Reformation. This is the task undertaken by M. Heubi, the author of the volume in consideration.

As we all know, Humanism and the Reformation formed the intellectual activity of France during the Renaissance. Hitherto these movements were studied separately. It is our author's aim to show the attitude of Francis I. toward both movements. M. Heubi admits that his sympathies lie with the martyrs of the Reformation, but we can say at this point that in no wise does he allow this bias to prevent his giving a straightforward and unprejudiced account of the situation. Some of the questions he puts to himself and his readers, and which he hopes to solve are: To what extent did Francis I. favor Humanism and the Reformation? In the measures which he took for or against these movements did he obey political principles, did he undergo certain influences, did he yield to simple impulses? The author adopts the method of the annalist, which, he says, is the least arbitrary of all. "En d'autres termes, c'est un travail tout positif que nous avons essayé d'effectuer; sans doute, il présente des imperfections: la masse des faits que nous avions à mentionner était si considérable que nos vues d'ensemble ne ressortent peut-être pas avec un relief suffisant. Nous espérons pourtant avoir fait œuvre utile en jetant les bases d'une synthèse qui ne pourra d'ailleurs être vraiment définitive que lorsque le travail de préparation sera beaucoup plus avancé."

The book is arranged in strictly chronological order and is divided into chapters which correspond with the principal activities of the king. In the first chapter we become acquainted with his childhood and youth and with his education. This education was a very well balanced one, but not that of a true humanist, since Francis I. scarcely knew Latin. He was able, however, to converse in Italian. His early life was not so debauched as we have been led to believe. "En effet, si voluptueux qu'il fût, le successeur de Louis XII n'était point dénué de sensibilité, et il était capable, à l'occasion, de nourrir des sentiments assez

déliçats . . . Mais vraiment François I^{er} ne fait pas mauvaise figure vis-à-vis de ses contemporains Henri VIII. et Charles-Quint, ou de ses successeurs au trône de France."

One of the first edicts issued by the king was a decree against blasphemers, and a very severe punishment awaited them. This edict is curious because it shows how closely the Church and the monarchy were united, for crimes committed against the one were punished by the other. It also illustrates the severity of the penalties inflicted at the time, and in that foreshadows the sentences pronounced against the Lutherans. Heubi shows the part played by the Parlement and the Sorbonne in questions of religion, as for example the difficulties the king had with the University in regard to the Concordat of 1516.

From the very outset Francis I. tried to become the patron of letters, both thru pride and political interest: he thought that the protection he gave to the intellectuals would assure his glory and he would get the support and advice of their wisdom. It is thus that the ideas expressed by Budé in his *Recueil d'Apophtegmes*, in which he says that the cult of letters in general and of history in particular is not only useful to kings during their life, but assures them glory eternal, became, in a way, part of the policy of Francis I. Heubi gives an account of the efforts of the king to persuade Erasmus to come to France, thru the intermediary of Budé. Francis I. wanted to found an institution independent of the Sorbonne, and thought that Erasmus would be a desirable acquisition, but the latter was not very willing to expose himself to the attacks of the University of Paris.

Heubi acquaints us with the policy of the king in regard to Lefèvre d'Étaples and Berquin, when in spite of the adverse decisions of the Sorbonne, Francis protected the humanists. He is not so generous, however, toward the Lutherans. The former were moderate in their demands for reform, and interested the king intellectually, while the Lutherans wanted an immediate rupture with the pope—a step which Francis neither cared nor dared to take. "Jusqu'ici, le gouvernement de François s'est montré d'une modération remarquable. Il a protégé avec constance le groupe de Meaux contre les attaques des théologiens, et il est intervenu en faveur de Lefèvre et de ses amis contre le Parlement lui-même. Sans doute, quelques mesures de répression ont été ordonnées, mais elles sont dirigées contre les luthériens et l'on peut, sinon excuser, du moins expliquer les ordonnances de ce genre par la gravité de la situation extérieure. En tout cas, François I^{er}, de 1515 à 1524, a toujours manifesté le plus vif intérêt pour le mouvement intellectuel. En agissant ainsi, il a eu le courage de se mettre en opposition avec le Parlement et la Sorbonne, à une époque où l'horizon politique s'assombrissait facilement" (p. 27).

We are taken step by step thru the Regency of Louise de Savoie. She too was lenient with the "novateurs modérés" and intervened in favor of Berquin. "En somme, la politique de Louise de Savoie pendant la Régence fut exclusivement réaliste. Louise chercha à réprimer le luthéranisme, parce qu'elle y voyait une sorte de mouvement révolutionnaire. . . . D'ailleurs, même si la régente avait conservé une aussi vive sympathie que par le passé à l'égard des novateurs, elle ne pouvait intervenir en leur faveur avec beaucoup de succès, puisque la Sorbonne et le Parlement, ces deux corps si puissants, leur étaient opposés. Elle devait même se concilier les théologiens et les parlementaires, car la situation politique était trop grave pour qu'il fût possible de renoncer à leur appui" (p. 35).

In spite of Francis, however, Berquin was burned to death. Our author

tells us: "Ainsi donc, en dernière analyse, François ne saurait être rendu responsable de la mort de Berquin. Singulier spectacle d'une monarchie qu'on croit toute puissante, qui s'efforce d'imposer sa volonté et si souvent doit abdiquer! François I^{er} pouvait se montrer absolu en bien des cas, il prenait fréquemment des mesures arbitraires en matière administrative et financière, mais dans les questions religieuses il lui fut impossible d'agir à l'encontre de la Sorbonne et du Parlement, qui se trouvaient en conformité sur ce point avec l'opinion publique" (p. 43).

We are told how Francis was not content with simply encouraging men of learning, but gave them public office. Among such men were Jacques Colin, Antoine Macault, the two Marots, Guillaume du Bellay and others. We are also informed of the founding of the office called "lecteurs royaux," and are given the names of the recipients of that office.

It is impossible here to give a complete summary of the activity of Francis I. Besides, it is not so much the events, which after all are well known to most of us, but the views of the king which interest us. We see him occupying himself with the trials of the humanists at moments when he is most entangled in political difficulties. The famous "affaire des placards" finds its place in our volume. In a discourse pronounced by Francis soon after the affair, he asks "d'éviter les accusations formulées à la légère." A little later, however, he issues an edict against the "recéleurs de luthériens," threatening them with the same penalties as the Lutherans themselves. "De toute maniere," Heubi tells us, "l'affaire des placards doit être considérée comme une grande maladresse, propre à exciter le roi et à lui faire prendre des mesures de rigueur . . . *L'Histoire ecclésiastique* elle-même, dont les auteurs étaient protestants, déclare que la situation, qui n'était point mauvaise pour les novateurs, fut gâtée par le zèle indiscret de ceux qui affichèrent les placards" (p. 68).

In order to exculpate himself in the eyes of the German Protestants, Francis invited Melancthon to come to France "pour y jeter les bases d'une entente religieuse." The Sorbonne, on the other hand, was opposed to the king's plans, and the interview was made impossible. Melancthon, too, met with opposition on the side of the elector of Saxony, who refused to grant him permission to come to France. In the case of Calvin, likewise, we are reminded that the king looked with disfavor upon his ideas, which were too absolute. Besides, his name was surely mentioned to the king in connection with the "affaire des placards." The attitude of Francis did not change, however, toward the humanists. It is only when Montmorency's power was in the ascendant that the king's measures became more imperialistic.

The favorable attitude of the king toward the Protestants of Germany is explained by the fact that it was the king's greatest ambition to humiliate Charles V. and here was a way of doing it right at hand. It is not a conciliation in the question of religion that Francis seeks. "Nous croyons donc qu'il s'agissait pour François I^{er}, non pas d'amener une entente en France même, mais simplement de se rapprocher des protestants d'Allemagne pour tenir Charles-Quint en échec." But Montmorency put a quick end to this policy at Nice, and at Aigues-Mortes. Measures against the Lutherans began to follow in rapid succession. Montmorency went so far as to take measures against Margaret of Navarre herself!

In the meantime Francis I. granted privileges to the printers and to the

"lecteurs royaux." He also drew to his court the most prominent humanists of France and even of Italy. Did he do this simply because he was interested in the movement? Heubi sees in it something more: "Il faut sans doute tenir compte de ses goûts, mais il nous semble aussi que sa politique a été trop réaliste pour qu'il n'ait pas vu plus loin. A ce point de vue, son œuvre est nettement centralisatrice: par l'institution des lecteurs royaux, par celle des imprimeurs du roi, par la création du dépôt légal, par tant de nominations à des charges effectives ou à des titres honorifiques, il avait prise sur les humanistes et pouvait exercer sur eux un certain contrôle" (p. 95). The intellectual élite, therefore, occupied in the affairs of the time, such a place that it forms one of the most essential elements of the reign of Francis I. It is this point of view, perhaps, which is one of the strongest contributions of the present volume.

The Ramus affair is also discussed at some length. Heubi considers it as very interesting from the standpoint of the position of the king. "Le roi de France intervenant dans un conflit tout philosophique en usant de son autorité pour instituer une sorte de duel, puis, à l'issue de ce duel, sanctionnant par un édit la défaite de l'un des champions: ce spectacle est vraiment caractéristique de l'époque, ainsi que des goûts de François I^{er}." Heubi explains that the king's conception of humanism was always in a way "pragmatiste." It is natural, then, that he should have pronounced against Ramus, who attacked the philosopher whose influence the Church had undergone. In attacking Aristotle, Ramus injured the authority of the Church, and wishing to avoid or rather put an end to all discussions, the king sentenced Ramus. In the case of Rabelais, too, the king intervened. At no time of his reign, as we have seen, was Francis really the master of the Faculty of Theology, or of the Parlement.

The last years of the king's reign witnessed many measures of repression, in the question of religion. Execution followed execution. The court, too, was in a state of dissension, and the Sorbonne got the upper hand. The king's death came in the midst of all these disturbances. Heubi discusses the question of the king's malady in but a few words.

The last chapter of the volume, on the judgment of the contemporaries of Francis I., throws a very interesting light on the career of the king. The author shows how the opinions of a man like Duchâtel, who pronounced the funeral oration, and those of Sleidan, an antipapist, and a German, coincided in exalting Francis I. as a scholar and as a man of very keen intelligence. In conclusion Heubi writes: "En somme, François I^{er}, c'est la Renaissance française elle-même, dans ce qu'elle eut de brillant sinon dans ce qu'elle eut de profond; c'est une nature toute spontanée et primesautière, avec une vivacité bien française qu'on retrouve chez Henri IV., et que la maladie put seule atténuer. . . . François I^{er} combattit encore la Réforme pour ce principe de libre examen explicitement contenu dans le luthéranisme, implicitement dans le calvinisme, et dont il pouvait prévoir les applications en matière politique. . . . Quoi qu'il en soit, François I^{er} a exercé une profonde influence sur la France et sur la littérature française; s'il a prétendu empêcher une évolution intellectuelle de se produire, il s'est trompé. Mais il a été un roi éminemment français; ses défauts et ses qualités portent le marque du pays qui fut le sien. Non seulement par ses actes, mais encore par sa personne même, par la souplesse de son intelligence et par les grâces de son esprit, il a joué un rôle fort brillant dans l'histoire de France."

M. Heubi deserves great credit for handling the enormous material so skil-

fully, and for giving such a readable and at the same time scholarly treatment of the subject. The index of proper names is also a valuable asset of the book. The author errs a little, perhaps, on the side of too frequent repetition of the thesis he is seeking to defend, but that is not easily avoidable in such a case.

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Bibliografia delle stampe popolari italiane: Vol. I, Stampe popolari della Biblioteca Mariana. By ARNALDO SEGARIZZI. Bergamo, Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche, 1913. Pp. xiv + 356.

It is now exactly a century since Stendhal began the writing of his letters from Rome, Naples, and Florence. We have had to see the Italian character reacting to the conditions of its new nationalism in order to test the truth of those general estimates of Italian life which Stendhal, with such extraordinary acumen, succeeded in forming in the chaos of 1817-20. If, then, in a few trenchant paragraphs, he was able to forecast what was to be the history of Italy's social consciousness, he was equally brilliant in his isolation of what criticism is coming more and more to recognize as the distinctive and typical essence of Italian literature. Not in Foscolo, or Monti, or Alfieri, but in Buratti, in Porta, in Grossi, Stendhal sees the genius of Italy expressing itself in most definite outline. And what Stendhal here says of the early nineteenth century can be affirmed with equal truth of the thirteenth and of the twentieth. From Cielo d'Alcamo to Salvatore di Giacomo there runs an uninterrupted and ever fresh current of regional literature, a current that flows now with indifference, now with responsiveness to the great intellectual artistic forces above and around it. In a Meli, we find it disciplined with art and turned to the purposes of high artistic expression; in a Belli it gushes forceful and wild from its springs in popular life and manners. But whatever the conditions under which it reveals itself, regional literature retains its intimate and vital relation to the local spirit, to that individuality which is the basis of Italian character.

We can have, in the last analysis, no adequate grasp of Italian civilization till we have measured its most universal creations on the background of the regional, the personal characteristics which are its constituent elements. The regional types have indeed been deeply studied as they have appeared in men remarkable either through the bulk of their production or through the power of their individual minds; and again the folklorists have with great thoroughness and patience gathered extensive data on the spirit of Italian regional life as it appears in the living manners and customs of the people. Between these two fields lies another that has been only incompletely explored, a literature too humble in its artistic forms to have attracted esthetic interest, at the same time too occasional in origin and too personal in touch properly to enter into folklore itself.

It is not that "popular" literature has failed to receive distinguished attention; but rather that a comprehensive study of it has been impossible through vague notions as to its real bulk and vaguer notions as to its accessibility. What were those "amorous songs printed" that Coryat saw dispensed by the charlatans of St. Marks? What were the *barzelette*, the *novelle*, the *sonetti* recorded by Garzoni? Where are the quatrains of Basnatio Sorsi on the Venetian carnival "decipà in le stampe dei mocciini" and "pubblicà in ogni canton"? Where are the songs of Paolo Briti, the blind poet of the people, so scorned by the acade-

micians, so loved by the populace? The mass of course of this daily output, this momentary reflection of popular judgment on the affairs of the hour, has perished. Much of it on the other hand survives. But how much and where?

A systematic attempt to answer these questions has been begun under the leadership of Francesco Novati. This first volume, dealing with the materials in the Marciana, is a brilliant beginning for the enterprise. Here we have not simply a list of books, but a profusely illustrated volume which leaves a very definite impression of the general character of the literature of the various regions of Italy as well as of the artistic dress in which it was printed and divulged. Professor Segarizzi has not of course attempted a bibliography of dialect literature, nor has he tried rigidly to define "popular" literature. He has gathered those publications which both from content and from manner of publication demonstrate popular inspiration. It is clear that this double delimitation is a happy, and in fact, almost the only workable one. Without the restriction of typographical form the subject runs on indefinitely into folklore and occasional literature in general; without the restriction in content, it enlarges into the whole history of certain types of printing. The volume thus calls attention to the materials not accessible through author catalogues or through the bibliographies of special subjects.

The possessions of the Marciana are richest in prints relating to the Venetian region. In these, naturally, the local strain is most in evidence; but the great predominance of more universal appeals in the numerous intrusions from other districts is self-explanatory. The general interest of their content was what gave them wings to travel, while the production of purely local occasion remained at home. Nevertheless the tendencies that appear in these titles seem too uniform to be explained by purely material causes. The history of the Italian national language seems directly to correspond to a more distinct "italianity" of the popular spirit of central Italy as it defines itself in these prints; while the Venetians seem to turn more intensely inward upon their own nationality, their own local glories. Perhaps the most curious block of titles in this collection is that relating to the regattas, a bibliography of the subject unique both for completeness and for accuracy of bibliographical description. And though Professor Segarizzi has systematically ignored works of known authors, the number of additions made to Gamba's collections for popular poets like Briti is surprising. As we run down into Tuscany the special contribution is to the legends of chivalry and of the church, the popular tale and the sacred play. For the south, the lyric is most prominent.

For the splendor of its typographical form and for the artistic conception of the content, the volume is typical both of the Bergamo publishers and of Professor Segarizzi's view of scholarship. Italian libraries have always been associated with a glorious tradition of erudite production, to such an extent even that library organization has somewhat languished. The many sided nature of all Segarizzi's work is best appreciated when we see the Querini-Stampalia museum and library arranged with every modern appliance for facilitating study. In addition to this, there has come from his study a rapid series of critical and historical works, noteworthy alike for rigor of method and for breadth of orientation. Within a year we have had from him the Bari edition of the Venetian *Relazioni* and now this first volume of the *stampe popolari*. Even if, for financial reasons, it proves impracticable that the successive volumes be in the same

sumptuous style, this first book will serve as a splendid witness to the beauty and richness of the subject.

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The Sonnets and Ballate of Guido Cavalcanti. With translation and introduction. By EZRA POUND. Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1912. Pp. xxiv + 119.

If we point out here some of the deficiencies of this edition and translation of selections from the works of Guido Cavalcanti, it is not because we fail to appreciate the enthusiasm that prompted the work, nor the ability and labor required to give us such rhythmical and condensed versions. The author writes with elegance and feeling and he shows a felicity and a sincerity in translation, that with better technical preparation in the Italian language and in the history of Italian thought may in the future lead to valuable contributions to the English reading public. The present volume is a failure simply from the lack of such preparation: for it reveals a fundamental misunderstanding of Cavalcanti's point of view, and too slight a grasp of elementary syntax and lexicography.

It is not that the author has not been vaguely conscious of the difficulties of his task. "It is conceivable," he says in his introduction, "that poetry of a far-off time or place requires a translation not only of word and of spirit, but of 'accompaniment,' that is, that the modern audience must in some measure be made aware of the mental content of the older audience, and of what these others drew from certain fashions of thought and speech." The existence of such a requirement, which to the author seems conceivably possible and to us patently obvious, has served, however, rather to disorient than to guide the analysis of these poems. For with the conviction that the grasp of the "accompaniment" is distinct from the "translation of the word," the author has been on the watch for "connotations alchemical, astrological, metaphysical, which Swedenborg would have called the correspondences"; whereas the real problem was to arrive at denotations, accurate and fixed. Guido, like Dante, uses a vocabulary that surprises by its geometrical precision, its technical luminousness. This fact is the great stumbling-block to any translator; for if, by enforced paraphrases or by varying synonyms, we lose the technical value of their terms, we are deprived of the most efficient key to the interpretation of their works.

It is true, however, that the threat of the author to initiate his audience into some of these mysterious connotations is not as serious as might appear. In his definitions of some half dozen words there is less of ominous symbolism than of commonplace misconception. "'Mente,'" he says, "is 'mind,' 'consciousness,' 'apperception.' 'Spiriti' are the 'senses' or the 'intelligences of the senses,' perhaps even 'moods' . . . considered as 'spirits of the mind.' 'Valore' is 'power.' 'Virtute,' 'virtue,' 'potency' . . . 'the efficient property of a substance or person' . . . 'emanation.'" In the discussion of "virtute," we do find indeed some astrology, for we are informed that in the Ptolemaic system, the stars had each its "virtue"; some "spiritual chemistry" appears along with this "logical astrology" in the assertion that "radium has the noble virtue of energy." Aside from passing reference to three or four lines, from one of which is derived "the *Paradiso* and the form of the *Commedia*," and on others of which Rossetti is entirely wrong and Carducci is "blasphemous," these definitions complete the critical apparatus of the translations.

Returning then to examine these definitions, which are indeed of prime importance to a successful translation of Cavalcanti, we find that of the three synonyms given for *mente*, the last, "apperception," contains an idea foreign to the philosophy of Cavalcanti's time; the second, "consciousness," had another very precise equivalent in "*anima sensitiva*"; and the first, "mind," still another (if we consider the word in its broadest current sense) in *intellectus*. On the definition of *mens*, the authorities under whom the Dugento poets were trained are in agreement. The *mens* is the *intellectus* in one of its operations, namely in the exercise of the discursive faculty, by which from data received through the senses it proceeds to the elaboration of the concept. This is quite distinct from "apperception." "Spiriti" are never "senses," and to Cavalcanti the phrase "intelligences of the senses" would have been a contradiction in terms. The *spiriti* are the media between the senses and the *intellectus*, media in which St. Thomas did not believe and which Dante came also, as it would seem, to reject. The author's attempt at *virtute* is a curious muddle of conflicting terms. How can a potency, in any rational use of philosophical terms, be an efficient property, inasmuch as it is precisely upon the efficient that the *potentia* operates in coming into act? *Virtù* is in fact in contradistinction to *potentia*; it is the faculty that has attained to the perfection of the *actus*. The line then which the author compares to radium, and in which he sees so much spiritual chemistry, the line

Vedrai la sua virtù nel ciel salita

contains nothing more than the picture of a blessed soul in the full fruition of its faculties. *Valore*, rather than "power," is the sum of the faculties considered both in *potentia* and in *actu*.

We must consider the translation on the basis of the accompanying texts (which apparently in some places represent the constitution of the author), else the value of these texts as a check for the interpretation of the translation is negative. Yet in sonnet four (*S'io priego questa donna che pietate*) for the line *e fatta modo di soavitate*, we find the translation returning to the variant *e fatta a modo di soavitate*: "And fashioned out in ways of gentleness." The confusion rests upon ignorance of the adverbial meaning of *modo*, "only." The sonnet *O donna mia non vedestu colui* is disfigured by a failure to know the use of *altrui* as an indefinite pronoun akin to *l'uomo*:

A guisa d'uno arcier presto soriano
 Acconcio sol per ancidere altrui.
 "An archer is he as the Scythians are
 Whose only joy is killing some one else."

and again in the line

Che soglion consumar altrui piangendo.
 "As by all custom wear out other men."

If the first is awkward, the second is meaningless, in the context. Nor do we see any reason, even metrical, for the alteration of *soriano*. In v. 7 of *Io vidi gli occhi dove Amor si mise*, we have the alternatives *ch'Amor medesimo ne saria*

crucioso and *ch'Amor medesimo faria crucioso*. Here, however, the translator has crossed the variants, reading *ne faria*, which bears no apparent relation to the translation "That Love should mourn amid his victories." An example of the obliteration of Cavalcanti's precision and clearness appears in sonnet I, *Voi che per gli occhi miei passaste al core e svegliaste la mente che dormia*; the rendering "And start the mind from her brief reveries" destroys the premise with which Cavalcanti started. Vv. 6-7 read

Campa figura nova in signoria
E boce è quando mostra lo dolore.
"There's a new face upon the signory
And new is the voice that maketh loud my grief."

If the first of these lines has any meaning at all, it at any rate does not bring out the transformation in the *anima* that is explicit in *figura nova*, nor has the meaning of *boce* been divined. In sonnet V, *Gli miei folli occhi che'n prima guardaro*, the translation needlessly loses the coherence of the thought in the alteration of *folli* to "rash," in place of "mad" or the like; for the reason of this epithet is made clear in v. 14: *Che non dei mai sperar altro che morte*; where again we find an error in coherence by making *altro*, neuter, refer to *tal* (sc. *signor*) in vv. 13: "Thou'lt have none other one save only death." A curious lack of insight into text constitution occurs in sonnet VI, *Tu m'hai sì piena di dolor la mente*: for v. 3, the author reads *e di sospir che manda il cor dolente dicono a gli occhi*. . . . The best manuscript tradition reads *e li*, etc.; but at any rate the reading *ed i* is indicated by syntax and sense. The text is not clear to the translator, but he proceeds to leap the ditch by attributing the speech of the sighs to the eyes, in defiance both of syntax and sense: "Mine eyes cry out: We cannot bear the load Of sighs. . . ." This, however, is quite surpassed in sonnet IX, xx:

A me stesso di me gran pietà viene
Per la dolente angoscia, ch'io mi veggio
Di molta debolezza: quand' io seggio,
L'anima sento ricoprir di pene.
"I am reduced at last to self-compassion,
For the sore anguish that I see me in;
At my great weakness; that my soul hath been
Concealed beneath her wounds in such a fashion."

We have preserved the impossible punctuation of the author, who does not know what to do with the phrase *di molta debolezza*, so he inserts it in a clause by itself without dependence on the rest of the sentence, thus missing the delicate meaning of the original. In sonnet VIII, *Perchè non furo a me gli occhi miei spenti*, the translator does not see that *fusse*, v. 3, is second person singular; and here as in general, little success is shown in handling the various meanings of *nuovo*. The beautiful *Chi è questa che vien ch'ogni uom la mira* is spoiled by a bad rendering of *umiltà*, as "modesty"; by a useless quarrel with Rossetti over *Ch' a lei s'inchina ogni gentil virtute*, "For toward her all the noble powers

incline," where the translator's chemical, and electro-magnetic connotations, are purely imaginary; and by a bad choice of *voi* for *noi* in v. 13 the translation

But ye! There is not in you so much grace
That we can understand her rightfully.

is unintelligible. We have decided for reasons of space to conclude our citation of examples at sonnet X, *Deh spirti miei, quando voi me vedite*, where the luminous statement of the progression of amorous phenomena in the poet's being (. . . *'l core ha ferite di sguardo di piacere e d'umiltate*) is turned into nonsense by the rendering ". . . my heart is wounded By glance by fair delight and by her meekness."

The translator tells us in his introduction "I have lived with these sonnets and ballate daily month in and month out, and have been drawn deeper into them and daily into contemplation of things that are not of an hour. And I deem for this that *voi altri pochi* who understand, will love me better for my labor in proportion as you read more carefully." We suspect that these versions will succeed better with the many who do not understand than with "the few" who do; and we suggest that the translator might demonstrate his membership in this chosen group more clearly before he goes on to the satire of Carducci and Rossetti, or on to additional translations of Dugento poets.

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The editors of the *Romanic Review* regret exceedingly that delay in the transmission of proof-sheets, incidental to the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, has resulted in holding up together three numbers of the review in the process of publication. Numbers 3 and 4, completing the volume for the year, will appear shortly.

